DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 137 433 UD 016 760

TITLE School Integration Innovation Act of 1976: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Ninety-Fourth Congress, Second Session on H.R. 14365.

INSTITUTION Congress of the U.S., Washington, D.C. House Committee on Education and Labor.

PUB DATE 5 Aug 76

NOTE 108p.; Hard copy not available due to small type of original document

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.

DESCRIPTORS *Educational Innovation; *Educational Legislation; *Government Role; *Integration Litigation; Racial Integration; *School Integration

IDENTIFIERS *Emergency School Aid Act; *School Integration Innovation Act

ABSTRACT

This document presents the proceedings of the hearing before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor to amend the Emergency School Aid Act. The proposed act is titled the School Integration Innovation Act of 1976. It provides for innovative desegregation programs and procedures. Specifically, the amendment provides for the following: (1) construction and operation of magnet schools, (2) the pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses. (3) the development of plans for and the construction of neutral site schools, (4) construction and development of educational parks, (5) education programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools, and the general use of magnet schools for education. The proposed authorized appropriation level of the bill is for $1 billion dollars a year. (Author/AM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED137433

SCHOOL INTEGRATION INNOVATION ACT OF 1976

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H.R. 14365

TO AMEND THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID ACT TO PROVIDE INNOVATIVE DESEGREGATION PROGRAMS AND PROCEDURES, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
AUGUST 5, 1976

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor
CARL D. PERKINS, *Chairman*

ED016760

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1976

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

CARL D. PERKINS, Kentucky, *Chairman*

FRANK THOMPSON, Jr., New Jersey
JOHN H. DENT, Pennsylvania
DOMINICK V. DANIELS, New Jersey
JOHN BRADEMAS, Indiana
JAMES G. O'HARA, Michigan
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, California
WILLIAM D. FORD, Michigan
PATSY T. MINK, Hawaii (on leave)
LLOYD MEEDS, Washington
PHILLIP BURTON, California
JOSEPH M. GAYDOS, Pennsylvania
WILLIAM "BILL" CLAY, Missouri
SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, New York
MARIO BIAGGI, New York
IKE ANDREWS, North Carolina
WILLIAM LEHMAN, Florida
JAIME BENITEZ, Puerto Rico
MICHAEL BLOUIN, Iowa
ROBERT CORNELL, Wisconsin
PAUL SIMON, Illinois
EDWARD BEARD, Rhode Island
LEO ZEFERETTI, New York
GEORGE MILLER, California
RONALD MOTTL, Ohio
TIM HALL, Illinois

ALBERT H. QUIE, Minnesota
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Ohio
ALPHONZO BELL, California
JOHN N. ERLENBORN, Illinois
MARVIN L. ESCH, Michigan
EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN, Pennsylvania
PETER A. PEYSER, New York
RONALD A. SARASIN, Connecticut
JOHN BUCHANAN, Alabama
JAMES M. JEFFORDS, Vermont
LARRY PRESSLER, South Dakota
WILLIAM F. GOODLING, Pennsylvania
VIRGINIA SMITH, Nebraska

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

CARL D. PERKINS, Kentucky, *Chairman*

WILLIAM D. FORD, Michigan
PATSY T. MINK, Hawaii (on leave)
LLOYD MEEDS, Washington
SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, New York
IKE ANDREWS, North Carolina
WILLIAM LEHMAN, Florida
PAUL SIMON, Illinois
RONALD MOTTL, Ohio
TIM HALL, Illinois
MICHAEL BLOUIN, Iowa
JAMES G. O'HARA, Michigan
LEO ZEFERETTI, New York
GEORGE MILLER, California

ALBERT H. QUIE, Minnesota
ALPHONZO BELL, California
EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN, Pennsylvania
JOHN BUCHANAN, Alabama
LARRY PRESSLER, South Dakota
WILLIAM F. GOODLING, Pennsylvania
JAMES M. JEFFORDS, Vermont

CONTENTS

	Page
Hearing held in Washington, D.C., August 5, 1976	1
Text of H.R. 14365	1
Statement of:	
Briggs, Dr. Paul, superintendent, Cleveland Public Schools	84
Glenn, Hon. John, a Senator in Congress from the State of Ohio	5, 34
Mitchell, Clarence, director, Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	61
Preyer, Hon. Richardson, a Representative in Congress from the State of North Carolina	43
Seiberling, Hon. John F., a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio	37
Whalen, Hon. Charles W. Jr., a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio	41
Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.:	
Briggs, Dr. Paul, superintendent, Cleveland Public Schools, prepared statement of	74
Exum, William H., assistant professor of sociology, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., prepared statement of	96
Glenn, Hon. John, a Senator in Congress from the State of Ohio:	
Prepared statement of	3
Supplementary statement	7
Grayson, E. C., superintendent, Jefferson County Public Schools, Louisville, Ky., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated August 2, 1976	98
Hart, Hon. Gary W., a Senator in Congress from the State of Colorado, prepared statement of	6
Hosford, Phil, president, The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Washington, D.C., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated August 4, 1976, with enclosures	98
Kennedy, Hon. Edward M., a Senator in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, prepared statement of	6
Key, June, consultant, Human Relations Department, Jefferson County Public Schools, Louisville, Ky., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated August 2, 1976	104
Mitchell, Clarence, director, Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, prepared statement of	60
Preyer, Hon. Richardson, a Representative in Congress from the State of North Carolina, prepared statement of	43
Seiberling, Hon. John F., a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio:	
News data release of Senators Brooks and Javits	38
Prepared statement of	35

SCHOOL INTEGRATION INNOVATION ACT OF 1976

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1976

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY,
SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 8:05 a.m. in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members present: Perkins, Hawkins, Chisholm, Simon, Zeferetti, Mottl, and Buchanan.

Chairman PERKINS. The Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education is conducting a hearing today on H.R. 14365, a bill to amend the Emergency School Aid Act to provide innovative desegregation programs.

[Text of H.R. 14365 and letter follow:]

[H.R. 14365, 94th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To amend the Emergency School Aid Act to provide innovative desegregation programs and procedures, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "School Integration Innovation Act of 1976".

SEC. 2. Section 707(a) of the Emergency School Aid Act is amended by adding after paragraph (12) of such section the following new paragraphs:

"(13) Construction and operation of 'magnet schools'.

"(14) The pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses.

"(15) The development of plans for and the construction of 'neutral site' schools.

"(16) Construction and development of education parks.

"(17) Education programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools, and the general use of 'education magnetism'."

SEC. 3. Nothing in this Act shall be construed in a manner inconsistent with the full enforcement of the fifth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United Sates and title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

SEC. 4. Section 704(a) of the Emergency School Aid Act is amended by adding after the second sentence thereof the following new sentence: "There are further authorized to be appropriated $250,000,000 for the period beginning on July 1, 1976, and ending on September 30, 1976; $1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year 1977; and $1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year 1978.".

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
Washington, D.C., August 30, 1976.

HON. CARL D. PERKINS,
Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request for a report on H.R. 14365, a bill "To amend the Emergency School Aid Act to provide innovative desegregation programs and procedures, and for other purposes."

In summary, we strongly oppose the enactment of H.R. 14365 because it would authorize major Federal expenses for school construction at a time when school enrollments are declining in many areas. We continue to believe that construction of school facilities should be the responsibility of State and local educational agencies; and the authority for school construction would be especially inappropriate in the Emergency School Aid program which has heretofore been, and in our view should remain, a service-oriented program. We are also opposed to the extremely high authorization levels for the Emergency School Aid Act that are authorized by the bill.

H.R. 14365 extends the Emergency School Aid Act through August 31, 1978, at an authorized funding level of $1 billion per year. The bill also amends section 707(a) by adding to the list of authorized activities. The bill provides for the construction and operation of magnet schools, the pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses, the development of plans for and the construction of neutral site schools, the construction and development of educational parks, and education programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in innercity schools. All of these activities, with the exception of construction, are feasible under existing provisions of section 707(a). Therefore, no additional authority is needed to allow Federal funds to be used for the planning and nonconstruction aspects of H.R. 14365.

The only new activity this bill would authorize is construction. The Administration is opposed to providing Federal financial resources for construction of educational facilities. We do not believe such construction is an appropriate Federal responsibility. In addition, we have some specific problems with the rationale for this proposal. First, it is difficult to justify a major new expenditure for school construction, when school enrollments are declining, most noticeably in cities and fringe areas of cities, the very areas which would be affected by the proposed construction program. Second, because of the inevitable population shifts during and after school construction, it would be extremely difficult to ascertain whether a proposed new school would in fact promote school desegregation. Third, the funds required to support this proposal would be substantial and would mean that construction would soon dwarf the service-oriented ESAA activities.

Finally, the authorized appropriation level of $1 billion a year—triple the current annual authorized level—is unrealistically high and well beyond the scope of need for these activities.

For the above reasons, we recommend that H.R. 14365 not be favorably considered.

We are advised by the Office of Management and Budget that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM A. MARRILL,
Acting Secretary.

Chairman PERKINS. This bill was introduced on June 14 by Congressmen Seiberling and Whalen, who are appearing before us today.

Senator Glenn who originally introduced the bill, S. 3319, in the Senate, will also be testifying today on this proposal.

As I understand these bills, they have two principal purposes. First: They extend the Emergency School Aid Act through fiscal year 1978 at an authorized funding level of $1 billion per year.

Second: They expand the types of activities which can be funded under the act to include a variety of alternative methods, of which school districts may implement desegregation. These methods include the construction and operation of magnet schools, the pairing of schools and programs with colleges and businesses, the construction and development of educational parks and neutral site schools and programs designed to improve the quality of education in inner-city schools.

I would like to commend you gentlemen for having shown leadership in this difficult area. In drafting this legislation, you have brought some thoughtful alternatives to our continuing discussion of how to provide the best education for our children, while at the same time desegregating the schools under the Constitution.

Today we will also be hearing from very distinguished gentlemen representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Clarence Mitchell; and from a distinguished educator, Dr. Paul Briggs, superintendent of the schools for the city of Cleveland.

Since we must terminate our hearings at 9 a.m. due to an emergency meeting of the House Democratic Caucus, I will urge our witnesses to be as brief as possible in presenting their testimony, but I want to state to you gentlemen, that even though we may be interrupted, I will come back from time to time and make sure that I hear all witnesses today. There will not be any cut-off. I will not eliminate any witnesses.

To expedite the hearings, I think we will hear from Senator Glenn first and come around to Congressman Seiberling and my other colleague, Congressman Whalen. And if Richard Prever is here, he can come around likewise, and then we will hear from the other witnesses.

I do not see Congressman Seiberling. He will be here in a few moments.

Go ahead, Senator Glenn. Proceed any way you want to.

Without objection, a quorum is present, and your prepared remarks will be inserted in the record and you may proceed any way you prefer.

[The prepared statement of Senator John Glenn follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN GLENN, A SENATOR IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, I am very pleased to testify in support of H.R. 14365 which is the House counterpart of my own bill, S. 3319. I am certainly pleased to join my distinguished colleagues from Ohio, Congressmen Seiberling and Whalen, coauthors of H.R. 14365. Additionally, I want to thank the distinguished chairman, Mr. Perkins, for holding these hearings.

Mr. Chairman, in the Senate, S. 3319 has been cosponsored by Senators Kennedy, Humphrey and Gary Hart. I am most gratified to see the beginnings of broad-based support in the House, support that now includes the very distinguished Congresswoman from California, chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, Ms. Yvonne Burke. I hope that H.R. 14365 and S. 3319 are the beginnings of positive and constructive efforts to provide practical solutions in the overheated area of school desegregation. Much public and national debate on this issue has now deteriorated to irrationality and emotionalism when the discussion should be on how to best provide a good education for all students and at the same time desegregate our schools under the law. Rhetoric on the desegregation issue has grown most shrill where the question of "busing" has been raised. Under the name of the "busing issue", we have seen assaults made upon many of the hard-won constitutional protections that blacks now have.

Let me be even more blunt: there is a considerable amount of anti-equality sentiment that masquerades as opposition to busing. The issue of "busing" has been used by some as a pretext for attempting to rollback the clock on civil rights protections, to undermine constitutionally protected remedies and to place restrictions on court jurisdiction. In some cases, so-called "anti-busing" sentiment has been used as an excuse for carrying out criminal acts reminiscent of some of the worst days of the civil rights movement. That type of activity has no place in this nation. Busing has been a way of achieving desegregation in our schools, and, despite the inconvenience and expense, it must be preserved as one remedy for segregation, where needed. It is often a constitutionally required remedy used to overcome purposeful segregation. Dismantling con-

stitutional and court ordered protections in the name of "busing" is simply indefensible—it solves no real problem, it makes no sense. To do so would violate our constitutional mandate for equality of opportunity.

S. 3319 and H.R. 14365 make no claim of "solving" the "busing problem". The bill would *not* reduce current authority to require busing.

The features of this bill operate irrespective and independent of considerations of busing.

Furthermore, S. 3319 and H.R. 14365 specifically state that nothing in this Act shall be construed in a manner that is inconsistent with the full enforcement of the 5th and 14th amendments to the Constitution and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The purpose of S. 3319 and H.R. 14365 is to provide specific authority and additional assistance for desegregation methods that traditionally have not received adequate Government financial assistance. The bill extends the Emergency School Aid Assistance Act—ESAA—through August 31, 1978—at an authorized funding level of $1 billion per year. The bill amends the ESAA by clarifying and adding to the activities for which ESAA can be used by communities implementing both court-ordered and voluntary desegregation plans. Specifically, S. 3319 would provide funds to support:

First: The construction and/or operation of "magnet schools".

Second: The pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses.

Third: The construction and development of education parks and neutral site schools.

Fourth: Educational programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools.

Mr. Chairman, all of these activities have been much talked about politically, but little initiative has been taken to encourage their implementation. These activities, singly and in combination have been ordered by courts as *part of* desegregation plans. A court is not a legislative body, though, and it cannot authorize and fund these projects. Only the Federal government can do this on a high priority nationwide basis.

And, Mr. Chairman, these desegregation methods have *worked*, whether in combination with busing orders or independently. Indeed, I believe that we could have avoided much of the turmoil we have today if school authorities, years ago, had recognized that they had to desegregate under the law and determined creative ways of doing so—without waiting for courts to impose busing.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit for the Record my two floor statements on S. 3319 as well as a volume of documented evidence that point to the educational and desegregation success experienced by many schools across the country that have utilized some of the activities authorized in S. 3319 and H.R. 14365.

In the city of Boston, the home of the distinguished co-sponsor of S. 3319, Senator Kennedy, two of the authorized activities of this bill have worked extremely well. I speak of the enriched "pairing" of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities or with leading business organizations. Such pairing is particularly attractive as a concept because it brings the wider community into an active civic involvement in helping to solve its own problems. The alliances can serve to magnetize schools, that is, to make it very attractive to members of all races by giving significant and exciting education offerings.

MAGNET SCHOOLS

Magnet schools, schools established on a city wide-basis or within a zone with specialized educational offerings have proven capable of attracting popular, integrated student bodies when well administered. My attached materials document the integration and educational success of many of the schools both in terms of substantial integration and educationally. The cities with successful programs run the gamut: Houston, Minneapolis, New York City, Portland, Chicago, and Boston to name several. Again, I cite the much publicized and troubled city of Boston where there are 22 "magnets" working well in the midst of turmoil. The William Monroe Trotter School in the heart of black Roxbury had a waiting list last year of 235 white students.

Again, Mr. Chairman, magnets will not *solve* all desegregation problems. However, they are a useful tool and they surely should be tried in conjunction with other remedies.

EDUCATIONAL PARKS AND NEUTRAL SITE SCHOOLS

Mr. Chairman, again the principle is the same. Build or develop conveniently located high quality schools or clusters of schools and you have then developed a long-term and effective method of education that is designed to attract and draw students from different neighborhoods, and of different racial backgrounds. This bill would encourage these modern, centrally located facilities and would provide substantial funding for them.

SUMMARY

Mr. Chairman, my attached inclusions for the record further document and describe the features of our bill. At this point, I would like to conclude by again describing my intent in introducing this legislation.

In no sense is this bill proposed as a "substitute" for busing. All it is is a mechanism to fund a full range of remedies that would help accomplish desegregation, court ordered or not.

I expect that if the methods of S. 3319 were properly employed, that the *need* for mandatory busing would be greatly reduced. To the extent that busing has resulted in a poor education for students, both black and white, reducing the need for it by providing better, attractive, integrated schools makes sense. Where busing is ordered as a constitutionally required remedy, this bill does *not* question that authority. We only provide school districts and courts with a fully funded *range* of methods to choose from to obey the constitutional mandate.

I expect some criticism and some skepticism from my friends in the civil rights community and this is understandable in this volatile area. Surely, there is a danger, particularly in the recent time period so characterized by misguided and unfortunate threats and rhetoric proposing moratoriums and re-opening of landmark civil rights cases. Perhaps some feel that in this atmosphere, *any* measure on this issue implies a criticism of the courts, or signals a retreat on desegregation.

In response, Mr. Chairman, I can only say that the only "signals" that I am giving are to parents and school children who want high quality racially integrated and constitutionally sound education. I want to make civil rights supporters less *defensive* and *reactive* on this issue. I want courts and school boards, alike to be able to look, realistically at a *range* of desegregation remedies that are practical and possible. No one argues that busing is the one and only method of school desegregation or that it alone improves education. My bill would retain every right now existent and it would *also*, hopefully, improve educational quality.

It is no accident that the supporters of this bill are among the strongest civil rights advocates in the Congress. This bill is no retreat, Mr. Chairman, it is an effort to take the desegregation issue out of the hands of those who would use it to drag down constitutional protections and to place it firmly in the hands of those who want positive, constitutionally sound, high quality education.

In Ohio, over 400,000 students await the careful final deliberations of distinguished judges on this issue. It is no criticism of those judges to say that I want them and the 400,000 students to be able to practically contemplate positive, practical and exciting educational options. The intent of this bill is to fund such activities and make them available *now*.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that statements from Senators Kennedy and Hart be entered into the record and that the record be held open for a period of one week to receive testimony from Professor William H. Exum, a black professor of sociology at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN GLENN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Senator GLENN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. We appreciate your holding hearings and being extremely cooperative in scheduling this early morning time period.

Senators Kennedy and Gary Hart are also submitting statements. Senator Humphrey was going to be here this morning with me, but the

change in the hearing schedule caused a conflict with a breakfast he had to attend this morning.

Chairman PERKINS. Without objection, those statements will be inserted in the record.

[Prepared statements of Hon. Edward M. Kennedy and Hon. Gary W. Hart follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, A SENATOR IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Chairman Perkins and members of the Subcommittee, I am pleased to give my support for H.R. 14365. I cosponsored similar legislation introduced in the Senate by Senator John Glenn, S. 3319.

Mr. Chairman, I cosponsored S. 3319 because it provides a constructive and positive approach to the effort to desegregate our schools in a direct manner. This measure adds to the activities authorized by the Emergency School Aid Act to permit communities to implement both court-ordered and voluntary desegregation plans. The activities specifically authorized in this bill will authorize the construction and/or the operation of magnet schools: the pairing of schools and the development of programs combining efforts between colleges, universities and businesses.

In addition, this measure seeks to encourage education parks, "neutral site" schools, as well as programs especially designed to enhance the quality of education in inner city schools.

These are all activities that with proven capabilities for working well both in integrating schools *and* in providing high quality education. I am particularly appreciative to Senator Glenn for providing such ample documentation of positive programs of this type that have worked and are working in communities like Boston. This bill would provide a city such as Boston ample funds to continue and expand its broad range of innovative approaches to school desegregation such as magnet schools and the pairing of schools.

As I understand this legislation, it would do nothing to dictate, reduce or impair any court's jurisdiction or constitutionally required remedies that may be fashioned by a court. What the bill does is to legislatively authorize federal funding of innovative methods that are designed to attract and hold racially diverse student bodies.

Mr. Chairman, I certainly realize that today's political climate with respect to school desegregation is quite volatile. Polarized political rhetoric has made it difficult for rational, positive voices to speak. In this climate, even a positive and well-intentioned bill such as this one, a bill that seeks unity and racial harmony, runs the risk of being misinterpreted by those who want to distort the role of public schools in our society. However, this is such a positive and constructive measure, that I believe it offers to bring an improved quality of integrated education to all students. Had the Congress acted positively on this issue years ago, and had school authorities long ago moved seriously to desegregate under the law, and had they then been able to utilize some of the features of this bill, we would probably not have the problems we face today.

So, now is the time to act, the time to turn the tide of negativism and to bring constitutionally protected high quality education to every American youngster. S. 3319 is a step in that direction, and I strongly support it.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. GARY W. HART, A SENATOR IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased to have the opportunity to state my support for H.R. 14365, a companion bill to S. 3319 which I have cosponsored. This legislation is designed to encourage the development of innovative schools—magnet schools, education parks, and other education systems. Such schools will prove to be so attractive to all racial groups that school integration will occur voluntarily rather than through mandatory busing of children.

Mr. Chairman, it has been two decades since the historic Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. Yet, one of the most difficult problems in education today involves the implementation of these rulings. The use of forced

busing to achieve some measure of desegregation has aroused more controversy and emotionalism than any other single issue in America education. Congress itself has spent untold hours in heated debate over the issue and, at times, this debate has come dangerously close to eroding our current civil rights protections.

The focus of public displeasure with the desegregation process has not been so much in relation to the idea of segregation as much as with the use of busing. My own constitutent mail confirms this and I am doubtful that there are many Congressmen who consider forced busing to be the best or most satisfactory solution to every case of segregation. However, while busing should remain an option in those instances where no other solutions have been effective, we would be most delinquent in our responsibilities if we did not seek ways of lessening the need for using it in the future. Such alternatives have been proposed in H.R. 14365 by Representative Siberling. By providing support for the development of these alternatives, we can both decrease our reliance on busing and enhance the effectiveness of our school system.

Mr. Chairman, if the development of magnet schools, education parks and other education systems had been actively encouraged several years ago, much of the recent conflict in Boston, Louisville, and in other parts of the country might have been avoided. This proposed legislation alone will not put an end to segregation nor the use of busing, but this effort represents a vital, positive step toward a solution to these persistent problems.

Mr. Chairman, again I wish to state my full support for this proposal and urge that my colleagues seriously consider the many benefits of this legislation.

Senator GLENN. I have a longer statement, Mr. Chairman, which I would also like to include in its entirety. Therefore, I will be very brief in my summarization.

Chairman PERKINS. Without objection, it will be submitted for the record in full.

[Supplementary statements of Hon. John Glenn follow:]

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENTS OF SENATOR JOHN GLENN

LIST OF COLLEGE-PUBLIC SCHOOL PAIRINGS IN BOSTON, MASS., DESEGREGATION PLAN

a. Boston College will work with Community School District 3, West Roxbury, at all school levels from kindergarten through Roslindale High. It will collaborate with Harvard in the District's relation to the new Southwest 1 citywide high school.

b. Boston State College will work with Community School District 6, the Burke District, at all levels, including the Jeremiah Burke High School. In addition, Boston State College would work with Boston High School, a citywide magnet school.

c. Boston University will work with the Brighton-Mission Hill Community School District 1 and with the development of a citywide high school in human movement and dance for the Commonwealth Armory. In addition, it will continue its support and assistance to the Bilingual Hispanic programs located throughout the city.

d. Brandeis University will work intensively with the citywide magnet English High School, which will be both a comprehensive four year high school and a specialty school for the arts.

e. Bunker Hill Community College will work with the Charlestown school components of the Madison Park Community School District 8, giving special emphasis to the development of cooperative programs between Charlestown High and the College.

f. Emerson College will work intensively with the citywide magnet Copley Square High School.

g. Emmanuel College will work with the Hyde Park Community School District 4 at all levels, including Hyde Park High.

h. Harvard University will work intensively with the staff and students of Roxbury High School. It will share fully in the later transition into Madison Park Campus High. Harvard will also work intensively to support development of citywide Southwest 1 High School.

i. Massachusetts Institute of Technology will work intensively to redesign East Boston High School into the citywide East Boston Technical High School and

with the Barnes Middle School, a new citywide magnet middle school. Both schools will stress aspects of environmental protection engineering and aviation maintenance technology.

j. Northeastern University will work with the Madison Park Community School District 8 at all levels. It will aid in the planning and development of programs for the new citywide Madison Park Campus High School.

k. Regis College will work intensively with the citywide magnet Boston Latin Academy, formerly known as the Girls Latin School.

l. Simmons College will work with Jamaica Plain High School, giving intensive attention to the modification in their vocational education program as set forth in the Court Plan.

m. Suffolk University will work to support and assist the schools included within the Title 1 Model Subsystem. It will also assist citywide Boston Trade School.

n. Tufts University will work intensively with the citywide magnet Boston Technical High School.

o. University of Massachusetts, Boston, will work with Community School District 7, South Boston, at all levels from South Boston High to elementary schools. This support includes help in developing the McCormack Middle School into a citywide magnet middle school featuring Basic and Remedial instruction in reading, writing, and mathematics.

p. Wellesley College will work intensively with citywide magnet Boston Latin School.

q. Wheelcock College will work with Community School District 2, Jamaica Plain, at the kindergarten through middle school levels.

LIST OF BUSINESS—PUBLIC SCHOOL PAIRINGS IN BOSTON, MASS.

The list of businesses which have agreed to assume a responsibility for a specific school and the tentative pairing with high schools is as follows:

a. Prudential Insurance Company—Boston High School.
b. Federal Reserve Bank—Boston Latin School.
c. Boston Edison Company—Boston Technical High School.
d. Ledgemont Laboratories (Kennecott Copper)—Boston Technical High School.
e. Honeywell Inc.—Brighton High School.
f. Liberty Mutual Insurance Company—Charlestown High School.
g. National Shawmut Bank—Copley High School.
h. New England Telephone Company—Dorchester High School.
i. Massport Authority—East Boston High School.
j. John Hancock Insurance Company—English High School.
k. International Business Machines—Boston Latin Academy (formerly Girl's Latin School).
l. First National Bank of Boston—Hyde Park High School.
m. Boston Gas Company—Jamaica Plain High School.
n. Traveler's Insurance Company—Jamaica Plain High School.
o. N. E. Mutual Life Insurance Company—Jeremiah Burke High School.
p. Blue Cross Blue Shield—Occupational Resource Center.
q. State Street Bank—Roxbury High School.
r. New England Merchants Bank—Roslindale High School.
s. Gillette Safety Razor Company—South Boston High School.

[From the Akron Beacon-Journal, Nov. 2, 1975]

MAGNET SCHOOLS . . . CHILDREN SEEM TO LIKE THEM

(By Shelly Cohen)

BOSTON.—Jimmy and Susan missed the bus that usually takes them to Ohrenberger Elementary School, but that didn't stop them. They walked the three miles to their class at one of Boston's 22 "magnet" schools.

The two black youngsters marched through white neighborhoods, through traffic and along highways to get to "their" school.

U.S. District Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr. has called the magnet schools "the crux and magic" of his integration plan for the school system in Boston, where forced busing has resulted in street violence and absenteeism. Jimmy, Susan and

many of the 15,000 children attending the magnet schools (17 percent of Boston's school population) testify to their magic.

"My father says I've learned more here than anywhere," says Tracy Jackson, 9, a fourth grader. "He can't keep me in books anymore. I read too fast."

But as a tool of integration, magnet schools—schools that attract students by offering special programs—have a spotty record of success. Despite that record, they are being seized upon by courts and school officials as a possible alternative to forced busing.

In Philadelphia, where magnets were conceived 10 years ago as a way to revitalize inner city schools, they have improved attendance and reduced discipline problems, but have failed in most cases to increase integration. The Philadelphia school board is now under a court desegregation order.

New York City officials, after four years of magnet schools, also report better than average attendance and few discipline problems. The program serves 19,000 students, about 6 percent of total enrollment was achieved.

"It has had some effect (on integration)," says Samuel Polatnick, executive director of the Office of Specialized High Schools for New York City. "But I'd be dishonest if I said it solved the problem." The pull of neighborhood schools, particularly in white neighborhoods, remains stronger, Polatnick says.

But in a Minneapolis high school district and in the Dallas suburb of Richardson, magnets have worked to bring black and white students together without violence, without protest.

The magnet program at the Minneapolis school, started in 1970, reversed a declining white enrollment. In Richardson, the all-black elementary school became a magnet this year, and 50 percent white enrollment was achieved.

In Boston, eight magnet schools, among them Ohrenberger, were established before the courts ordered the school system integrated last year. Their original purpose was to serve bright children, black and white, and they are successful at this today. But at some of the 14 new magnet schools opened this year by Judge Garrity, attendance figures show some resistance to integration.

Magnet schools take as many forms as there are cities using them. Some are for bright students, others for those with special interests such as art or music and science, and still others are for the poorly motivated who otherwise might drop out.

What they all have in common is that students attending magnets have volunteered to do so, and the schools draw from outside the neighborhoods in which they are located.

Despite the resistance to integration in Boston, Trotter Elementary in the largely black Roxbury section has had no trouble attracting 51 percent whites. Parents seem eager to send their children to what they believe is a progressive school with such programs as open classrooms and team teaching.

The Richardson district, an upper middle-class white suburb of Dallas, was given two weeks by a federal court this August to attract 250 white pupils to Hamilton Park School.

School officials came up with a magnet program in drama and music, special gymnastics courses, and a 16-to-1 pupil-teacher ratio. By the deadline, 289 white students were signed up to balance the school's 265 black pupils.

Ohrenberger, in Boston's white West Roxbury section, is now in its fourth year as a magnet school and has a minority enrollment of 42 percent.

"Their attitude toward school is just a little different," Mary Connolly, the principal, said of the youngsters. "And that makes the relationships between parent and teacher different."

While white parents in some sections of Boston marched near schools to protest forced busing, parents at Ohrenberger were on hand to greet the buses the first day of school, to welcome the new pupils.

In his appraisal of one of the city's magnet schools, a white Boston cab driver said, "My daughter's taking hairdressing and psychology and all kinds of crazy things, but at least she's going to school."

The cabbie's daughter goes to Copley Square High School, downtown. It has been a magnet school for nearly 10 years. Formerly, most of the students were black, but now 50 percent are white.

In Philadelphia, where it all began, school board members are taking another look at magnet schools because of the court desegregation order.

"The magnet school was not conceived of as a device for integration, but as a way of improving education without destroying the concept of neighbor-

hool schools," said Eunice Clarke, now an assistant vice president at Temple University.

Dr. Clarke, an expert in urban education was among the educators and city officials who proposed the magnet idea in the early '60s. It was seen then as a preventive measure, a way of discouraging white fight to the suburbs, she said.

"We thought that by providing specialties, you would automatically get a mix and prevent that kind of split. But they never became what they should have been.

"What is essent al in a magnet school is that it not be viewed as a gimmick," Dr. Clarke advised. "If they are designed solely to integrate the system, that does a disservice to the concept. If they are designed to integrate the system and in the process improve education, then that's cause to rejoice."

[From Phi Delta Kappan magazine, April 1976]

MAGNET SCHOOLS IN A BIG-CITY DESEGREGATION PLAN

(By Daniel U. Levine and Connie C. Moore)

During the past few years, the magnet school approach has received a great deal of attention in planning and carrying out school desegregation efforts in big cities. Examination of the magnet schools in Houston (described at length in the preceding article) is particularly instructive for educators elsewhere, because this approach appears to have been soundly implemented there. At the same time, the account illuminates a number of basic issues in urban education. Our commentary will focus first on identifying policies and practices which may have been crucial to successful implementation or may have contributed notably to it. Second, we shall describe several interrelated issues raised in the course of establishing the magnet school program in Houston.

IMPLEMENTATION

Internal Planning and Selection of Principals—Following the goals and objectives of the Task Force for Quality Integrated Education, the Administrative Task Team prepared the actual plan for magnet schools. The team consisted of persons within the system, several of whom were released from other duties and all or nearly all of whom were table to spend a great deal of time in planning activities after March 24, 1975. Members were knowledgeable about programs and personnel in schools throughout the district, and thus were able to determine whether magnet concepts might work well in a given school. In particular, team members and other Houston central office personnel were willing and able to select building administrators likely to provide strong leadership in carrying out the plan in the schools.

Top Management Support—Equally important, top management consistently articulated and demonstrated strong commitment to the project, particualrly in the form of support from the general superintendent and top-level administrators (who served as the Project Management Committee[1]) as well as from assistant area superintendents and central office personnel, who provided various forms of coordination and backing.[2]

The importance of this vigorous support can be illustrated in one of the most serious problems in a magnet school approach: persuading or preventing principals in the "regular" schools from subverting recruitment of students. (Outstanding principals may be even less willing than others to see some of their best students transfer to allegedly more "attractive" schools.)

On the one hand, top management helped select some magnet school principals willing to spend long hours recruiting eligible students; on the other hand, they have taken actions to help in communicating with and gaining access to potential students.

Incentive for Participating Magnet Schools—Related to this, schools in the magnet program received schoolwide benefits such as increased materials, smaller

[1] Included the superintendent for instruction, the executive deputy superintendent for instruction, the deputy superintendent for general instructional services, the deputy superintendent for administration, and the deputy superintendent for occupational and continuing education.

[2] John Brandstetter, Alvin Frankel, Paul Campbell, and several other veteran-administrators worked overtime for months to coordinate development of the magnet plan.

class size, and other gains, and their principals frequently exercised leadership in showing regular (i.e., non-magnet) faculty that they too could benefit from the program. At one time district officials considered the possibility of financially or otherwise rewarding home schools which had sent students to the magnet schools. While this idea eventually was discarded, it may be worth consideration later in Houston as well as in other districts designing magnet schools.

Resources for Planning—The Administrative Task Team was given isolated space where meetings and planning activities could go on uninterrupted, with resources for duplicating mtaerials, clerical help, communications, and related services, so that work could proceed rapidly and efficiently.

Sufficient Planning Time—The approximately five months of time between appointment of the Administrative Task Team and the beginning of the school year proved sufficient—but just barely—for planning and implementation. In this regard it should be noted that the Houston plan is relatively unambitious in the sense that the magnet schools constitute a small fraction of the schools and only a few thousand students have changed schools. (The plan is ambitious however, with regard to objectives focusing on fundamental changes and innovation in instructional arrangements in some of the participating schools.)

In addition, it should be emphasized that the HISD already had completed a major school-level needs assessment, in which principals had worked with their communities to identify future goals and programs. Had this not been previously accomplished, or had the plan involved a total-district integration effort directly affecting a majority of the district's pupils, five months would have proved grossly inadequate for planning and implementation.

Similarly, Houston officials already had considerable experience in implementing "majority-to-minority" transfer arrangements, and these transfers were used to advantage by incorporating many majority-to-minority transfers into the magnet schools and by transporting others in magnet school vehicles. Had this not been possible, the number of students transferred to magnet schools might have been much smaller, and transportation would have been less efficient.

Acceleration of Regular Procedures—Serious obstacles related to time limitations almost destroyed chances for success in many schools during the crucial planning and implementation stages. For example, supplies and materials which had to be put on bid frequently were not available when school opened, the logistics of transporting pupils (some of whom travel as much as 25 or 30 miles) proved not only enormously difficult but very nearly overwhelming, and uncertainty regarding student assignment was rampant up to and after the opening of school.

In the end, vigorous action—such as occasional circumvention of normal communications channels, state department of education help in gaining priority for bids, and switchover to 16-passenger vans rather than regular school buses—overcame the obstacles. To avoid such "touch and go"—and frequently "no go"—situations in the future, educators must try to gain more time and resources for planning, as Houston officials are doing this year. Whether this can be done in other districts contemplating magnet schools will depend on court approval, which in turn will depend to some extent on the prior and current "good faith" shown by school officials. The courts could help through such key actions as mandating additional state funds for implementing integration plans and, if possible, temporarily waiving existing regulations in matters involving bidding and purchasing.

In sum, we believe that a magnet approach such as Houston has developed is dependent on strong administrative leadership, substantial resources, and a good deal of time for planning and implementing each stage in the development process. Such generalizations are of course neither startling nor original, but they do highlight some prerequisites for the success of a big-city magnet school approach. If confusion and conflict are widespread within the education staff or between educators and other participants such as school board members, teacher union officials, or community leaders, or if bureaucratic procedures are too rigid to allow for quick responses, the program can easily bog down. If this happens, a magnet plan that looked good on paper will fail to achieve its stated goals.

ISSUES IN URBAN EDUCATION

Racial Integration—As Houston school officials are the first to point out, the magnet school program there is not a racial integration plan for the district as a whole. It is an attempt to move toward integration on a small scale, following a program of court-mandated pairing of 22 schools which wound up with too

few nonminority students to be considered successful as a desegregation plan.

The Houston experience suggests that the magnet school approach can help achieve some movement toward stable integration in a big-city district. During the current school year, for example, 587 minority students (black and brown) and 670 white students had transferred (as of December 12, 1975) into magnet schools which had enrollments between 25% and 75% minority during the previous year. One school changed from 1½% to 9½% white and another from 13% to 28% white, at least partly as a result of participation in the magnet program. While some of these transfers probably are attributable to white transfers from increasingly minority schools and to middle-class minority flight from low-status schools, they do represent gains in integration as compared with the situation that developed in the originally paired schools.

However, it should be noted that many of the magnet school concepts in Houston provide for very limited contact between pupils of differing social and ethnic backgrounds. At the elementary level for example, a large proportion of the students in the magnet school program (i.e., students in cluster school programs) join students of differing backgrounds for only one week a year. This contact may well be useful in acquainting students with others from differing groups, particularly if they have additional opportunity for contact outside the school (e.g., in neighborhood settings, at athletic events, and summer recreation). It should be clear, on the other hand, that such an approach cannot be considered a promising "remedy" for the learning problems of masses of low-status students in inner-city schools (see Inner-City Education and Upward Mobility, below).

Economic Integration—Because participation in the magnet schools is voluntary and because only a relatively small number of students are reassigned and transported, integration in the magnet schools probably is most usefully discussed in terms of bringing together middle-status and upwardly mobile minority and nonminority pupils, who are most likely to request and meet eligibility requirements for participation. For example, students in the relatively elite School Within a School programs—approximately 3,500—are separated from the total student body in these schools for about 60% of the time. Similarly, at the high school level many of the students in the magnet curricular are in selective programs which existed before the magnet plan was implemented. However, there is little doubt that the magnet plan as it is developing in Houston is increasing opportunities for contact between minority and nonminority students outside inner-city schools (i.e., schools with a large proportion of poverty pupils from neighborhoods high in social disorganization).

Inner-City Education and Upward Mobility—The magnet school approach as developed in Houston is not designed to bring about substantial improvements in most inner-city schools, in which achievement is abysmally low and teaching/learning conditions are extremely difficult. However, it is possible that a magnet school approach could have some success in bringing about improvement in inner-city education, particularly if, as in Houston, it is closely tied to questions of staff selection and resource allocation, and helps open up situations in which outstanding principals and teachers can work together in a new learning setting.

Nevertheless, we do not know of schools in Houston or in other cities where the magnet school concept per se has demonstrably resulted in systematic reform in the organization and administration of inner-city schools. And the approach being followed in Houston has limitations, related to its emphasis on selectivity, which will prevent expansion to encompass all or most of a district. When some of the best students have been reassigned to magnet programs, class size may have been reduced elsewhere, but school officials then are faced with the problem of systematically reforming inner-city instruction with fewer of the leadership components necessary to accomplish the task.

Houston school officials are well aware of this situation, and, as in other cities, many are working to improve instruction in the inner city. They are also aware that some of the magnet programs are in predominantly inner-city minority schools with remote chances of attracting nonminority students. The hope is that the magnet curricula in these schools will improve education there.

As implied above, the magnet school approach at this time in Houston provides an opportunity for talented minority and low-status students to escape from schools which are not functioning well. Thus it exemplifies traditional mobility patterns wherein the most talented of the newcomers or the depressed groups in big cities can rise to success through education. Some school officials in Houston believe this does not necessarily harm regular inner-city schools, because it pro-

vides a chance for new groups of talented students to replace those going into magnet schools.

This may or may not prove to be true in Houston and other cities; in any case, minority and low-income communities in Houston appear to have generally accepted this traditional approach to opportunity and mobility.

However, such acceptance may be related to tendencies for minority leadership to be middle class or upwardly mobile, and to Mexican-American parents' desires to remove their children from predominantly black schools; children from these families are among the first to take advantage of magnet opportunities. Such acquiescence may not characterize other big cities with predominantly minority and/or low-status populations. In some of them, militant groups are grasping desperately for any remedy, such as districtwide reassignment of students, which they hope will somehow "integrate" and thereby "equalize" all schools in the district.

Education and Big-City Development—From a long-range view, the most important contribution of the magnet school approach in Houston may lie in its potential for helping to shape the city's future constructively. Whereas the pairing arrangements which it replaced apparently had accelerated middle-class and white withdrawal from the district schools and the city, the magnet approach can help stabilize and revive deteriorating neighborhoods, particularly where residents, both minority and nonminority, already are working to achieve stable integration but fear that local schools will be inundated with lower-status pupils.

In Houston, for example, young middle-status families are beginning to move into several older neighborhoods which they hope to restore and renew; this movement could become much more pronounced when relatively selective magnet schools are available, for these schools signify and provide "middle-class" opportunities. Similarly, several largely black and/or Chicano neighborhoods have substantial middle-status populations and may remain viable despite the threatened encroachment of lower-status families, provided that special magnet opportunities for academically talented students are easily available within or near these middle-status centers. In time, stabilization of integrated neighborhoods and middle-status minority neighborhoods could provide a nucleus around which other parts of the city can be renewed on a still more substantial scale, given proper coordination between the public schools and other government agencies.

[From the New York Times, July 3, 1975]

City's "Magnet" High Schools Are Pulling

(By Leonard Buder)

The "magnet" high school, a new version of an old idea, may be setting a pattern for the future of secondary education in the city.

The magnets, theme-centered schools or institutes, emphasizing such areas as oceanography or communications, grew out of attempts in recent years to meet mounting demands for greater relevance in education and to find ways to attract white students to heavily black schools.

From the educational standpoint, officials say, the magnets have worked out very well. The special programs have added new dimensions to the secondary-school curriculum. Student attendance rates in the programs, one yardstick of success are relatively high. But as a means of furthering integration, the magnets have had little impact on a school system that is now more than two-thirds black and Hispanic.

"Magnet schools are no panacea for all our problems," said James F. Regan, the former high-school teacher and dean who served as president of the Board of Education during 1974–75. "But at a time when we are trying to provide more educational options and alternatives, they appear to be one of our most promising developments."

A NEW CONCEPT

Although magnet schools as such are a relatively new development—the term "magnet" only recently entered the educational vocabulary—they are based on the simple and far from from new idea that special programs will attract students, even those who live a considerable distance away, who would normally go elsewhere or might drop out of school altogether.

The city now has four high schools that are designated as magnet schools: August Martin (aerospace) and Beach Channel (oceangraphy) in Queens and Clara Barton (health professions) and Edward R. Murrow (communications arts and other options) in Brooklyn. A dozen other academic and comprehensive schools have magnet components—special institutes or schools-within-schools.

Two magnet schools are scheduled to open this fall. One, named in memory of a former president of the Board of Education, is the Murry Bergtraum High School for Business Careers in downtown Manhattan. The other is the Boys and Girls High School in Brooklyn, which will offer students a range of course options in urban planning, building and related fields.

PROGRAM EXTENDED

In September, the magnet school concept will be tried for the first time on the middle-school level in an attempt to bring a degree of racial balance to Mark Twain Junior High School in the Coney Island section of Brooklyn. Under a Federal court-approved integration plan, Mark Twain, which is now predominantly black, will become a magnet school for gifted pupils.

The city's long-established special academic schools, such as the Bronx High School of Science and the Fiorello H. LaGuardia High School of Music and the Arts, are, in sense, magnet schools even though they are not categorized as such. So is Brooklyn's young and well-regarded experimental John Dewey High School, which features individualized programming, flexible schedules and independent studies.

Magnet schools receive no special budget allocation because they are magnets. But education officials noted that the allocation formula tries to take into consideration special school features. The few city schools that have extended school days, including August Martin, also receive an additional amount to cover the extra operating expense.

Apart from their special programs, magnet schools differ from most other schools in that they draw students on a voluntary basis from a much wider area, often the entire borough and sometimes the whole city. This gives these schools a broader geographic mix of students and is the reason why they are regarded, at least theoretically, as a means of promoting better racial balance.

"I take two buses and two trains to get here for a total daily travel time of three hours," said Kathleen Assevera, a 15-year-old sophomore at Samuel J. Tilden's School of Law, Politics and Community Affairs.

Kathleen lives in Jamaica, Queens, and Tilden is in the East Flatbush section of Brooklyn. But the long trip, she said emphatically, "is worth it—I like the school." As a result of interests kindled by her studies, Kathleen is thinking about a possible career in law.

MORE SCHOOLS PLANNED

Samuel Polatnick, the head of the Board of Education's high school division, said that the future trend in secondary education here would be "more and more" to magnet schools and special programs, even though they may not all carry such a designation.

"Virtually every high school in the city," he said in an interview at central headquarters, "will some day emphasize a special theme or area of interest."

New York City's first magnet high school—August Martin—was opened in 1971 and its experiences have demonstrated what magnets can accomplish in the way of education and what they may not be able to do in the area of social change.

Martin occupies a modern red-brick building in predominantly black South Jamaica that had formerly housed Woodrow Wilson Vocational and Technical High School. Wilson had been shunned by white students who did not want to attend a "black" school and by black students who objected to attending what they regarded as a school that was educationally inferior as well as racial segregated.

In 1970, with the enrollment down to few hundred students, the decision was made to transform Wilson into a comprehensive school that would be geared largely to the aerospace field. The school was also renamed in memory of a black American pilot who was killed while flying a relief mission to Biafra in 1968.

Martin uses aerospace as the "motivational" theme in the academic as well as career areas, Dr. Lawrence Costello, the principal, said recently. Math and science classes, for instance, often draw examples from the field of aviation. The career-related courses include airport maintenance, aerospace medical technology, meteorology, airline administration, flying, travel and tourism.

SEVEN-HOUR DAY

"Our magnet is seven hours a day," Dr. Costello said. This gives Martin a longer day than most schools have. Some students find the hours and the pace too difficult and they leave. "They don't drop out of school, they just return to their neighborhood school," the principal remarked.

But the majority remain and they attend regularly. Martin's student attendance rate—consistently around 90 percent—is among the best in the city. The average academic high school attendance rate is 10 percentage points lower.

The early hope that the school might attract a racially balanced enrollment has not been fulfilled. Blacks make up 85 percent of the current student body of 1,500.

"In spite of magnets and everything else we try," said one high-ranking headquarters official, who preferred not to be identified, "we still can't overcome that fact that many white parents will not voluntarily send their children to a school in a minority area."

Attempts to promote integration—usually as the result of court mandates—have been behind the moves to magnet schools in several other cities, among them Boston, Detroit, Houston, and Chicago. In cities where magnets are now operating their effectiveness as an integration technique has generally been a matter of debate.

Detroit's magnet high-school program, established four years ago, has been "utterly and completely a failure," according to Dr. Cornelius J. Golightly, the president of that city's Board of Education.

While the magnet schools have not had the integration effects originally hoped for, some aspects of the idea have been adapted in the special programs for regular schools. Erasmus Hall High School's Institute of Performing Arts is an example of a magnet program functioning within a larger school.

A public secondary school since 1896, Erasmus Hall was founded as a private academy in 1787, which makes it the oldest secondary school in the state and one of the oldest in the country. The old academy building, now a museum, stands in the school's quadrangle.

PERFORMING-ARTS PROGRAM

The school enrollment went from 10 per cent black and Hispanic in 1962 to 57.9 per cent minority in 1972 as white families moved from the racially changing Flatbush neighborhood or sent their children to other schools. In an effort to stem the enrollment trend, the Board of Education decided to establish a performing-arts program at Erasmus Hall.

It now seems obvious that those who thought the institute, which started with 150 students and now has 580, could alter the racial balance of a school with 5,000 students had simply expected too much. As it turned out, the ethnic composition of the institute now matches that of the school—both are 78 per cent black and Hispanic.

"Integration is no longer a primary objective," said Fred Levenson, the assistant principal in charge of the institute. "The objective now is a viable school with interested kids in the arts."

That goal seems attainable. A total of 1,500 students interested in music, art, dance and drama applied for admission this fall. Of this number, 350 were accepted.

EXTRA CLASSES

Students in the institute attend school for an extra two periods, or 80 minutes, daily. Additional time is devoted to their special interest. They also have a heavy schedule of after-school activities which often includes performing in the community.

The dropout rate for students in the institute is relatively low—somewhere between 5 and 8 per cent, according to Harriet Oxman, the principal. The majority of students in the program, she added, are headed for college and many members of last month's first graduating class from the institution won full-tuition art and music college scholarships.

SOME CONCERNS

With all the enthusiasm they have sparked, the magnet schools and programs have also stirred some concerns.

One is that they will draw the best and most-motivated students away from the regular schools, which still educate the bulk of the city's 305,000 high school students.

Another is that the magnets could become havens for white students seeking to flee regular schools with higher minority enrollments. This is not regarded as a serious problem now, since most magnets are in heavily minority schools, but there is some feeling that it could be a factor in the future as more magnets are established.

School Chancellor Irving Anker has a further concern.

"There is a tendency in education," he said, "to oversell promising programs to the public—to give people the idea that they can accomplish everything. We feel that the magnets are an excellent concept, but we want people to understand what magnets can and cannot do."

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 19, 1976]

Boston Ghetto School Uses Academic Merit as Integration Lure

(By Liz Roman Gallese)

Boston.—Since the founding of the William Monroe Trotter School here five years ago, the waiting list for admissions has grown to 235 white students.

It's not that the elementary school is an exclusive private refuge from the city's school integration upheaval, because the institution is neither private nor segregated. Indeed, Trotter's enrollment is 60% black, and is located in Roxbury, Boston's worst ghetto.

But Trotter just happens to be considered about the best elementary school in Boston. So some white parents from townhouses on Beacon Hill, middle-class houses in Hyde Park and the working-class triple-deckers of South Boston and Dorchester are willing to wait two to three years to enroll their children in Trotter's two-year kindergarten and five grades.

Trotter was established 10 years ago by the Boston School Department with the idea of attracting whites to the ghetto-area school for quality education. A middle school and high school were set up in other areas of the city, but Trotter has proved to be the most successful of the three "magnet" schools.

PRINCIPLES OF MAGNETISM

The concept of magnet schools with the educational excellence to draw enough white students to accomplish voluntary integration has shown such promise that it is being viewed as a way to help Boston out of its school busing brouhaha.

Until last year, Boston's public schools were in fact largely segregated. Then, touching off an explosion that is still rumbling, Judge W. Arthur Garrity last June ordered 80 of the city's 200 schools to start busing 20,000 children last September to achieve integration. He also directed that the other 120 schools must fall in line in September 1975.

With the start of busing last fall came angry demonstrations, violence in the schools and heavy absenteeism. Today, the incidents continue, and absenteeism remains around 25%, with some students staying away out of fear of violence and others out of opposition to busing.

In an attempt to avoid some of these problems this fall, Judge Garrity recently disclosed a plan for September that includes a citywide network of 22 magnet schools that students can choose voluntarily. Magnet schools were the key element of a proposal drawn up by four court-appointed masters and two desegregation experts advising the judge.

JUDGE'S APPROVAL

Judge Garrity has called magnet schools the "crux and magic" of Boston's new integration proposals, saying they would provide "an enormous safety valve." He added, "There's less likelihood of a rumble in the cafeteria" when students come voluntarily to a superior, though racially mixed, school.

Moreover, the magnet-school program is being viewed as a model for other areas of the nation. William J. Leary, Boston's outgoing school superintendent, envisions city and suburban schools that will attract "exchange" students from wide areas by offering special programs in such things as science and performing arts. "Over the long term, the entire country will have to look at such exchanges," he says. "If suburbs and cities don't share the goodies, we'll have more uprisings."

Marion Fahey, Boston's associate superintendent who will succeed Mr. Leary when his term expires Aug. 31, hasn't yet voiced her views of magnet schools.

But Houston's public schools expect some 81,000 of the city's 210,000 public-school students to be attending 46 new or expanded magnet-school programs by September 1976. The magnet programs substitute for court-ordered busing of students between paired schools—a program that is blamed for driving many white families from Houston since it began five years ago.

If the Trotter School is any gauge, the magnet-school program will be eminently successful. Trotter's attractions include special music and art programs, guidance for children with problems and involvement by parents, who are allowed to visit the classrooms at will, for example.

White and black parents send their children for the same reason, "a better education," says Laura Horne, the school's liaison with parents. "We aren't promising we'll produce geniuses, but we won't produce dropouts," she says.

The new Trotter building was constructed near the old Boardman School site in 1969 for $2.7 million. Named after a local journalist and civil-rights leader of the early 20th Century, Trotter was the first school completed after the state's Racial Imbalance Law was enacted in 1965. The law, largely ineffective until this year because of suits and appeals, prohibited any school from having a non-white enrollment of over 50%.

REJECTING BLACKS TO ADMIT WHITES

Following the letter of the law, Trotter recruited a 50% white enrollment from as far as 30 miles away, even though some black children in the immediate neighborhood had to be turned away. (Judge Garrity's Boston desegregation order ironically brought the black enrollment up to 60% last fall by redrawing Trotter's district lines but allowing children from the old district to remain.)

Trotter started with 26 white and 18 black teachers, chosen with care, and tried to get parents involved by explaining the school's goals at afternoon teas. It hired Roxbury residents as aides, and these neighborhood people often became Trotter boosters.

At the outset, Trotter's enrollment included an inordinate number of children with problems, including half the white students. Many of these were sent by parents hoping Trotter's special programs would benefit the problem children.

HEXAGONS, PODS AND CENTERS

"We broke every rule in the book, and people said this place was a funny farm," Mr. Howard, the ex-principal says. "But our philosophy was to send home happy kids." (With the rise of the school's reputation the number of problem pupils has declined, and now the ratio at Trotter is in line with the city's average.)

Sprawled over 2½ acres in a rundown neighborhood of storefronts and tenements, the brick-and-concrete school is a series of five two-story hexagonal buildings connected by corridors. The typical hexagonal "pod" has a "learning center" surrounded by six classrooms. In each learning center, two supplementary teachers help pupils from the adjoining classrooms by giving reading help to slow learners and courses in everything from mythology to map-reading to brighter children.

Modern techniques are also used in the classrooms. All classrooms except kindergarten are composed of two grade levels, such as third-fourth grades or fourth-fifth grades, with slow fourth graders in the former and advanced fourth graders in the latter, for example.

In a fourth-fifth grade class in one room recently, Barbara Sherman taught the metric system to a group of four children in a quiet corner. Meantime, two boys fed the class guinea pig, four children worked quietly at their desks and two boys practiced a puppet show that they had written to help younger children learn multiplication tables.

Such decentralization in classrooms lessens pressure on children, a key Trotter aim. "There's no pressure to compete because they're all doing different things," Miss Sherman says. Pressure is further reduced because grades indicate only "good," "satisfactory" or "needs improvement." Poor work means a conference with parents rather than an "F." Miss Sherman keeps things organized by passing out "contracts" for work each child must complete while she teaches others in small groups.

FEWER PUPILS PER TEACHER

Trotter's use of "open classrooms," electronic devices and other modern methods isn't unique by any means. These techniques became widespread in the 1960s

and continue to be used in at least some classrooms in perhaps 75% of Boston's 135 elementary schools. But Trotter is firmly committed to many of the concepts, and is equipped to implement them. And Trotter's complement of 26 classrooms teachers (for classes averaging 26 pupils) and 18 specialty teachers represents an overall teacher-student ratio that is better than the Boston average of one teacher for 22 children.

Teachers at Trotter often link classroom lessons to field trips to museums and other Boston attractions. Miss Sherman's students explored the open-air Haymarket when they studied consumerism and went to the Museum of Fine Arts when they studied Egypt.

All children also take one-hour art and music lessons at least once a week with separate teachers in special classrooms. And physically or perceptually handicapped children get special help during part of the day in three "resource rooms."

Despite the educational benefits at Trotter, the school hasn't managed to bring its children's reading scores quite up to the national norm, so Principal Barbara Jackson is setting up a "transitional first grade" to catch poor readers early.

"We've done much to get children to like school and have good attitudes, but we can do more in the cognitive areas," she says. Two assistants help Miss Jackson—Iabella Ravenell keeps track of enrollment, while Archie Macdonald makes sure busing runs smoothly.

Trotter's guidance counselor, John Fleming, has helped design programs to spark children's interest. His use of closed-circuit TV so motivated fourth graders in a summer program that Trotter hired a full-time television teacher who plays back children's book reports and gets the children to do news programs and quiz shows that tap what they've learned.

When a Boston clinic asked him to provide candidates to test new ways to teach reading, Mr. Fleming readily complied. Not only did those 20 children improve, but he got to refer 10 others. As a result, psychiatrists from the clinic now help teachers handle problem children. "When one child recently threatened to harm himself, they had someone here within two hours," he says.

USE OF PARENTS' RESOURCES

Despite its amenities, Trotter cost Boston only $1,103 a pupil last year, slightly above the average of $969 for all the city's schools. Trotter gets $738 of federal funds for each of the 264 pupils who come from "disadvantaged" areas, compared with a high of $515 for other Boston schools. But those funds have been pared in recent years and will be cut further next year.

Trotter pupils' parents obviously enjoy the role they themselves play. Parents have their own office at Trotter, and they frequently take advantage of their right to wander in and out of classrooms. Arlaine Bryant, a former teacher, spends Wednesdays helping her son's first-grade teacher with science lessons, and she built an aquarium in the class. "It's wonderful that a school can use parents' resources," she says. And the children like it so much that "if you're there more than five minutes, one will jump in your lap," she says.

Trotter parents also played an important role last summer after the court's desegregation order tipped the school's 50–50 racial balance. The court also ordered 15 of Trotter's 18 black teachers to report to schools with far fewer black teachers. Parents eventually got back six of the 15 teachers but failed to keep the student black-white balance from slipping to 60–40.

INTEGRATION EDUCATION

The school's racial balance itself is an attraction to many families. "Integration works," says Arthur Eskin, a white attorney from Boston's affluent West Roxbury section, who sends his two children to Trotter although a neighborhood school is minutes away from his home. "Education is more than book-learning," he adds. "It's learning about people."

Trotter evolved from the W.L.P. Boardman School, an archetypal ghetto school with 98% black enrollment in a dilapidated eight-room red-brick building. It was so bad that over half of the parents began boycotting it. In 1965 the Boston School Department funded Boardman as a model school, named a new principal and gave him carte blanche to hire and fire teachers.

Within two years the new program, which featured "open classrooms" where children could work independently or in small groups, was faring so well that

it had a waiting list. "It was winked on, frowned on, suspected as too innovative, but something was happening to turn parents on."

Parents now are hoping to prevent any further transfers of students or teachers that could result from the pending new court order. But Thomas Welch, president of the Trotter Parent Association isn't overly optimistic, suggesting, "It's becoming more and more a fireman's type of job."

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 2, 1975]

A "MAGNET" SCHOOL IN BOSTON UNAFFECTED BY RACIAL STRIFE

(By Lee Daniels)

BOSTON.—In contrast to the tension and uncertainty in many public schools affected by the desegration court order here, its been business as usual at English High school.

One of 22 "magnet" schools established in Boston as a means of making desegregation attractive to all races, English High has been so peaceful the police who patrol outside do nothing more strenuous than direct traffic.

School officials hope that the quality of education available in the magnet schools, designed to draw students from all over the city (and thus achieve desegregation) by offering distinctive programs will blunt the impact of busing students to them.

(Each magnet school is paired with a local college which helps develop and sustain such programs.)

From all indications, that hope appears well-founded. The percentage of students attending the magnet schools consistently has topped that of the entire school system since school opened Sept. 8.

For example, according to figures released by the school department, in early October just over 83 percent of the 15,732 students enrolled in magnet schools attended school. School officials said 70 percent of the 54,085 students in regular public schools attended school.

At English High, 60 per cent of the school's 2,500 students attended class. School officials said the percentage of students attending the school has fluctuated between 60 and 70 per cent since school opened, a figure higher than for nonmagnet high schools.

English High students interviewed said busing is no problem there.

Gail Lindsay, a white 16-year-old junior from Boston's West Roxbury section, chose two years ago to be bused to English because "all my friends were coming and I wanted to come."

Gail, an officer in the school's National Honor Society, added that this year she again chose to be bused to the school.

Carmen Toon, a black 17-year-old senior from Mattapan, quipped that although not assigned to be bused, she rides a school bus instead of public transportation because "I get to school quicker and it's free."

Relations between students once they reach the school appear equally free of tension. "I don't have any problems with anybody," Jesus Uriaite, a 17-year-old junior bused from Jamaica Plain said. "I don't see anything wrong with black and white kids going to school together."

Those interviewed attributed the relaxed atmosphere at English High, the nation's oldest public school, to its modern quarters, the success of its athletic teams, and the "human relations" work of just about the entire school community.

The school, a new 10-story glass and concrete structure in the Fenway section, looks like a modern office building and has such amenities as escalators, a library and media center where students can produce their own films, and an Olympic-size swimming pool.

"The building's so nice we don't want to mess it up," Toon said.

Robert Peterkin, the school's young, black principal, said that last year, except for one fight in October, the school escaped serious racial incidents.

Peterkin said the successes of the school's soccer team, its girls' athletic teams, and its boys' basketball team, state champions for two straight years, contributed to the racial peace.

Toon said, "We had 400 students out for some of the girls' games and blacks and whites came to watch the basketball team. We were all cheering the same team after school and that made it hard to fight each other during school."

Shirley Judge, a white West Roxbury parent whose daughter is bused to the school and who is active in school affairs, said that parents, teachers, and about 200 students held a human relations workshop "to discuss things and get to know each other."

"The attitude (at English) is very good," Judge said. "The discipline is firm, but not extreme, and we've got good teachers. We feel it's our school and it's up to us to take care of it."

English offers or is developing programs in physical education and health, the performing arts, visual and communicative arts, urban studies and humanities, in addition to its general education and college prep courses.

Other magnet school programs include a bilingual elementary school program teaching Spanish or English as a second language, another elementary school program emphasizes general and applied science, and another stressing creative writing and mathematics.

OPENING THIS FALL IN HOUSTON, TEXAS

With the first year of HISD's comprehensive Magnet School program completed, the district's 34 programs will be increased to 49 this fall under Magnet Phase II.

Many of the 15 new programs are extensions of existing ones like the four additional Vanguards for academically able students. New Vanguards are scheduled for Windsor Village, Oak Forest, and Hayes Road (under construction) elementaries. A first this year will be a senior high school Vanguard at Jesse Jones.

Students attending Cornelius Elementary will be allowed entry into a concentrated program of math and science with a careers' component.

Creative arts will be the key to programs at Longfellow Elementary and Fleming Junior High. These will feature music, drama, speech, art, dance and gymnastics.

Crawford, J. Will Jones and Hayes Road elementaries will have extended day classes from 3–5:30 p.m. The schools will be set up to offer three 45-minute enrichment classes that range from speech, drama, art and physical education to regular academics. There are even activities, like storytelling, for students in primary grades.

Following the successful lead of Burrus Elementary, Roberts Elementary will become a Physical Development academy this fall providing experiences for students in health and physical education. Special emphasis will be placed on lifetime sports activities like dance and aquatics.

Another program which is an outgrowth of an existing one will be the Contemporary Learning Center for students in grades six through eight. The CLC has been an overwhelming success on the high school level.

HISD's new Montessori School, at Dodson Elementary, will accommodate 85 four to seven-year-olds in the first year. The Montessori curriculum aims to improve the natural development of these youngsters using learning habits which include independence, responsibility, coordination order and concentration.

M. C. Williams High School will open a new magnet school of communications. The curriculum, which will include radio and television communications and training in theater arts, will be wrapped around a strong speech education component. The speech department at Williams has consistently fared well in state University Interscholastic League competitions either winning or placing near the top in one-act play competition.

Finally, Lincoln Community High School will provide educational alternatives to students who find little motivation in regular high school programs. Students will be allowed to pursue programs of independent study in their areas of interest.

[Material from National Conference on Magnet Schools in Houston, Tex.]

NORFOLK'S OLDEST HIGH SCHOOL: REJUVENATION PROJECT PROMPTS CHANGES BOTH INSIDE AND OUT

In the fall of 1971, staff members in Norfolk City's oldest high school, Mathew Fontaine Maury, were busy designing a new project which would result in a completely reorganized curriculum. The new design would provide for the individual needs of the students that formed the diversified student body. The school, in its role of leadership in education and in the community, appropriately named the three-year project "Regeneration: Inner-City School Survival."

Today the program, originally financed by a grant from Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, is nationally recognized as a model for other high schools. Recognition as a national model was announced for 1975–76 following a third-year evaluation made in the spring of 1974 by representatives of the State Department of Education and the United States Office of Education.

The broad curriculum which includes every phase of high school education provides opportunities for students to pursue individualized programs. In addition to providing an academic program suitable to their present and future lives, the students are given instruction and opportunities to help them assume responsibility for their learning, and to develop behavioral patterns which do not disrupt the learning processes of other students. Assistance is given to students so that their levels of intellectual achievement will be raised and the vocational skills required for employment will be upgraded.

Students may select from more than 350 courses, of which approximately 200 are taught regularly during each of the nine-week periods into which instruction is divided. Six to eight subjects are taken by students during each nine weeks, more than are taken by students in traditional school programs. Each course developed by staff members meets specific performance objectives. A curriculum guide, containing full information about each course, is available to students for planning their educational programs.

All courses are phase-elective with no restrictive requirements for enrollment. However, a few of the courses by necessity have prerequisites, and for some other courses students are required to have a certain number of credits in order to be eligible for graduation according to state standards.

Classes at Maury High School do not carry grade level identifications in order to provide greater opportunities for students to take courses which meet their needs and their interests.

Operational funds have been provided by the Norfolk City School Board since July 1, 1974, and grants for 1974–75 and 1975–76 made by the Department facilitate the dissemination of information about the project throughout the country.

Change also has affected the area around the school. When the staff members decided that broad reorganization of the instructional program was needed, the community, formerly composed of churches, privately owned homes, small duplex apartment houses, and neighborhood businesses, had deteriorated. The buildings have been moved and the former 6-acre campus has been expanded to 26 acres and surrounded by park areas.

As soon as planning began, project staff members set about laying the foundation for community involvement and acceptance of the new program by establishing contacts with parents, students, and the community at large. Various forms of communication were used to inform the public about the project and to promote understanding about its potential for success.

Minor renovations made to the school building during 1971–72, the first project year, converted the available space to usable, more flexible units. Some of the larger rooms were divided and other areas were combined. In some instances, space arrangements were especially designed according to curriculum needs.

That first year also was spent by project leaders and staff members researching and writing an instructional program for Maury's students. Special methods and materials were developed to implement the program. In the fall of 1972 the new courses were introduced into Maury's classrooms where they now are the basic curriculum.

A staff of 118 persons—106 teachers and the remainder administrators and counselors—operates the program. Since students are given an opportunity to select courses on a nine-week basis, increased administrative effort is required. In addition, everyone on the staff works harder in this student-centered environment than in the traditional setting.

Another innovative idea used at Maury provides for the cafeteria to remain open throughout the school day to serve breakfast, lunch, and snacks. The cafeteria area is supervised and many students gather there when they do not have classes. They study or prepare class assignments and participate in informal discussions and group work, as well as snack. This part of the program continues under close evaluation. While many students seemingly do not use their unscheduled time wisely, it becomes questionable if assigning them to study rooms would help them.

Many challenges have arisen in the project; however, the degree of commitment to the program by Maury's staff members and administrators is credited with having contributed significantly to its success.

"Regeneration: Inner-City School Survival" has been accomplished at Maury—in the school and in the community. Maury's prestige as a leader has continued. In the field of education its influence is nationwide the second time around.

A Comprehensive Look at the Houston Plan

(By Kelly Frels, of the Law firm Bracewell & Patterson, Houston, Tex.)

The Magnet School Plan for the Houston Independent School District was adopted by United States District Judge James Noel after a public hearing on July 10–11, 1975. The Magnet School Plan was submitted by the Houston Independent School District as an alternative to the pairing of 22 elementary schools ordered paired by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on August 25, 1970. Through the Magnet School plan, the district also seeks to supplement its total integration efforts.

The Magnet School Plan has as its objective the achievement of racial and ethnic integration by providing quality educational programs. Magnet schools are utilized as integration techniques in four respects. The first is to reduce the one raceness of a particular school by providing a special educational program which will attract students of the appropriate race in sufficient numbers to integrate the school. Secondly, a magnet school provides an opportunity for students from one race, or nonintegrated schools, to be brought together in an integrated environment at a school outside their attendance zones.

Thirdly, magnet schools provide an approach to locating new facilities in a one race area where additional capacity is required. A fourth reason for the magnet schools is to retard white flight by providing quality educational programs which could not be secured elsewhere. These programs also bring new families into the district. Magnet schools, therefore, can be used to reduce the number of one race schools and to increase the number and percentage of students attending integrated schools.

Other school districts throughout the United States have utilized the magnet schools as an educational tool for many years; however, it is only with the addition of certain constraints on enrollment by race and ethnic origin together with providing free transportation, extensive publicity and community contact and other safeguards that the magnet school becomes an approach to achieve integration. Without these constraints, safeguards, and additional educational components, the integration objective would be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. Unless these constraints are included, magnet schools can become unintentionally segregated. Boston's college preparatory school was predominantly white, while the vocational school was predominanantly black. Magnet schools do not offer the total answer to integration, but when used in conjunction with strict nondiscretionary zoning and other desegregation techniques, it will work in school districts of various sizes. A magnet school may also be helpful in building new facilities.

There are several important elements which contributed to the Magnet School Plan's acceptance by the court. Foremost among these was the involvement of all ethnic and racial elements within the school community. Inherent in this involvement was the opportunity for these racial and ethnic components to serve on the Community Task Force, appointed on November 25, 1974, which recommended the magnet school concept and the tri-ethnic Administrative Task Term which developed the Magnet School Plan adopted by the court.

All communities of interest were granted access to numerous public forums where their opinions and feelings were expressed. Additionally, during the process of formulating this desegregation plan, all other parties to the existing suit were kept fully informed of the activities and were allowed to participate within the parameters of legal ethics. The court-appointed bi-racial committee, composed of five blacks and five whites and responsible to the court as a watchdog over the desegregation process, was consulted and its input was sought on all aspects of the plan and its development. All parties to the lawsuit were kept fully informed of the progress of the plan's development.

The Magnet School Plan's success is predicated upon providing a quality educational program which will attract students of all ethnic and racial backgrounds to attend a centrally located school. These schools can take three basic forms. The first is an unzoned campus which has no specific attendance zone but accepts students from all attendance zones within the district.

The second basic form of school is a zoned school which has an attendance zone from which the basic student body is drawn but has additional student positions available to attract students from all schools within the district. A third form is a cluster center which provides a part time program for students from selected schools throughout the district. The Magnet School Plan of Houston utilizes all three basic approaches with variations of each.

MAGNET SCHOOLS HERE STEP UP INTEGRATION

(By Elmer Bertelsen)

Seven months ago, with approval from a federal judge, the Houston public schools began an experiment calculated to improve education and increase integration: the magnet program.

The objective was to encourage integration on a voluntary basis by offering at certain schools special programs not availalbe elsewhere in the district.

For instance, a student interested, and possibly talented in music could enroll in a special music program in a distant school and get free transportation there.

Magnet schools were available for those interested in such subjects as ecology, fine arts, creative writing, science and mathematics.

For students interest in special careers, there were magnet programs in engineering, petrochemistry or aerodynamics, to name a few.

Houston Supt. Billy Reagan said at the time that such programs might slow white flight to the suburbs while stabilizing racial balance in the district.

The program was controversial but the U.S. Department of Justice agreed that it could be tried as a substitute for an unsuccessful pairing program that had yielded little integration and much controversy from blacks and browns.

When it began, administrators predicted that 75,000 of the districts's 211,000 children would participate.

So far, only 25,204 students are enrolled in 34 magnet programs at 28 schools.

But the program has stepped up integration.

Since September, 11 more schools in the district have qualified as legally integrated schools. A legally integrated school is one with a student body of less than 90 per cent of one race.

This is twice as many schools as the district was able to integrate in each of the previous five years.

Today, there are 181, an increase of 27 since 1970. The 11 that achieved integration this school year compared with 16 for the previous five years, an average of about three per year.

John Brandstetter, assistant superintendent for the magnet program, says that integration is not the sole objective of the magnet program.

Magnet programs are intended to improve the quality of education in the district.

Evaluation of academic progress of children in the programs hasn't been made yet, he said.

The magnet plan replaced the pairing of 22 schools ordered in 1970 by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The pairing order sought to achieve a better racial balance by moving or "pairing" students from one school to the same class in another school.

At that time, browns were not considered to be a minority race in the eyes of the law.

In many cases in the court-ordered pairing, a predominantly black school was paired with a predominantly brown one.

Many of the few white families in the paired areas moved to other neighborhoods to avoid the program. So the student bodies of the paired schools included less than 3 per cent white students.

The minorities protested and the magnet plan was suggested as a substitute.

Houston schools still use another program to stimulate integration, the majority to minority transfer.

Under this plan, a student who is in a majority in his neighborhood school may transfer to another school in which he would be in the minority.

Like the magnet plan, it is voluntary and the student is furnished transportation. Brandstetter says it is working with about 3,000 students exercising this option.

A total of 3,267 children in magnet schools are bused to a school out of their neighborhood. That figure includes 1,398 blacks, 1,353 whites and 516 browns.

In addition to these children, many children attending their own neighborhood school choose to enroll in the magnet programs.

The racial makeup of the student body today is 78,412 or 87 per cent white, 90,034 or 42.6 percent black and 42,982 or 20.3 per cent brown.

Total enrollment in the district, on the decline for a number of years, stabilized this year.

Brandstetter said he believes an improved school program and a tight economy may be factors in this stabilization.

An example:

Enrollment of white students at Poe Elementary, 5,100 Hazard, jumped this year.

A check shows that a number of these pupils, new at Poe, were in private school last year. Brandstetter said he doesn't know whether conversion of Poe to a totally magnet school with fine arts emphasis prompted the increase of white students or whether it was the crunch of inflation that brought private school children to Poe. He said he did not have the specific number of the children now at Poe.

The number of whites at Poe, in a predominantly white southwest area, increased from 197 last year to 272 this year. The number of blacks is 208, one less than last year.

In most magnet schools, Brandstetter said attraction of white children to schools in predominantly black neighborhoods and blacks to schools in predominantly white neighborhoods, has been sufficient to bring significantly more integration than in the past.

He cited as examples schools in predominantly white areas with magnet programs: Bellaire High, Rice at Maple; Lanier Junior High, 2600 Woodhead, and River Oaks Elementary, 2800 Kirby.

Bellaire, with a foreign language academy, had an increase of blacks from 79 last year to 118 this year.

Lanier with a special program for bright children, called vanguard, had an increase of blacks from 457 last year to 489 this year.

River Oaks, also a vanguard school, increased its black enrollment from 123 last year to 173 this year. It now has 79 browns compared with 53 last year. Its majority race, the whites, dropped from 314 last year to 279 this year.

This same change has occurred in the predominantly white northwest area.

For instance, Wainwright Elementary, 5330 Milwee, which has a magnet program in science studies, increased its black enrollment from 31 last year to 72 this year and its brown enrollment rose from 65 last year to 70.

Changes also are occurring in predominantly black areas as more white children enroll in magnet programs there.

Roosevelt Elementary, 6700 Fulton, which has a vanguard program, experienced an increase in white pupils from 47 last year to 134 this year. Roosevelt is in a predominantly black-brown neighborhood.

MacGregor Elementary, 4800 LaBranch, increased its white enrollment from 6 last year to 88 this year. It has a magnet program in music.

"We believe this program is working for two reasons," Brandstetter said. "First, transfer to a magnet school is voluntary and second, we are providing a better opportunity for those who choose the programs by transferring.

"There will always be people who do not want to integrate and they are not forced to do so in the magnet programs. But as time passes, more and more people accept integration. Especially when they realize their children are learning more in magnet programs."

The magnet program is expensive. Generally the pupil-teacher ratio in magnet program schools is lower than in other schools. It is costing more than $1 million to bus children to the special programs.

To stimulate interest in magnet programs, the district furnishes transportation Monday through Friday from the district's central offices, 3830 Richmond, to one or more magnet schools for any interested citizen. The buses leave at 9 a.m. and are back at the central offices by 1:30 p.m.

Variety Flourishes Under Dallas' Skyline

As the result of the cooperation of many elements of the Dallas community, Skyline Center is designed to change the scope of education in one of the largest

metropolitan areas of the United States. It is a multi-purpose facility intended to provide maximum educational opportunity to the citizens of the Dallas Independent School District. Its educational components include the High School, Career Development Center, and the Center for Community Services. Skyline Career Development Center is organized into Career Clusters. Each Cluster encompasses several families of careers.

The student body of Skyline Center is composed of four types of students: (1) those who live within the Skyline High School attendance zones, (2) those who transfer to Skyline High School as full time students in order to take advantage of Career Development courses, (3) those who attend the Career Development Center on a part-time basis and remain enrolled at their local school, and (4) adults or other part-time students who enroll in the Community Service Program. In September of 1975, more than 4,200 students were enrolled in the day school. The Community Services offered programs for more than 3,000 students.

Skyline Center was financed by a local school bond and continues to be operated by local school district funds from the Dallas Independent School District.

The evaluation program is implemented through the District Research and Evaluation Department which is a component of the Skyline Center program. All curriculum is written and implemented on a competency performance base. Each Career Cluster has a Community Advisory Committee for curriculum evaluation and involvement.

The Center's Career Development Cluster programs are intended to enable each student to maintain a balance of academic and career education. The curriculum is designed to provide each CDC student with (1) a high school diploma, (2) the preparation to enter college or technical school, (3) and career skills to be used for future employment or to put the student a step ahead in advanced education.

The Career Development Clusters are business and management technology, the study of man and his environment, computer technology, world languages, horticulture, higher sciences, higher mathematics, metal technology, world of construction, electronic sciences, climate control technology, advanced English, speech, and journalism, aeronautics, plastics technology, transportation services, aesthetics, dramatic arts, photographic arts, graphics technologies, advanced music, television arts, world of fashion, beauty culture, food management, child and youth related professions, health-medical and dental technologies.

The curriculum is under continuous revision and improvement. Teachers, curriculum writers, and research and evaluation teams work together to improve the instructional opportunities for all students involved. Several of the clusters in the Career Development Center are being implemented in other high school areas of the Dallas Independent School District. The in-service training and staff development programs continue to assist teachers and staff in developing not only curriculum materials, but offer opportunities for community involvement with Advisory Committees from industry.

To accomplish these goals, the staff of Skyline Center is pledged to foster an atmosphere conducive to creative growth and development of concepts, skills, and personal relationships.

[Material from National Conference on Magnet Schools in Houston, Tex.]

CINCINNATI SCHOOLS TRY TO BLEND THE BEST OF CONSERVATIVE, LIBERAL POINTS OF EDUCATION

"What did you learn on the river today?"

Aunt Polly might have asked this of Tom Sawyer and his friend, Huck Finn. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Cincinnati parents will be repeating the question. A new program in Inland Waterways Occupations, complete with operating craft, is part of Cincinnati's expanding effort to provide educational options for elementary and secondary students.

More than 11,000 students in the Cincinnati Public Schools are enrolled in full-time, optional courses of study this year. These programs are available at no cost to all students in the school district. Even free transportation is provided. Estimates indicate that by 1980 alternative programs will include over 20,000 students, 40 percent of the projected enrollment of the school system.

Unlike life on the Mississippi, education in Ohio's riverfront city keeps its emphasis on academic learning. Basic skills are a consistent concern of every

alternative program. Alternative schools combine the best of both conservative and liberal philosophies of education. They are conservative in that they conserve the best of traditional education; emphasis on basic skills and academic achievement. They are liberal in their assumption that parents and their children know best what their educational needs and interests are.

Secondary students may choose from a variety of full-time vocational offerings, like the watercraft operations program. Or many of the district's students chose to enroll at Walnut High School, the city's oldest alternative school. Several other options are available to junior and senior high school youth. At the elementary level the school system has nine distinct alternative programs, some of which are offered in several schools.

Alternatives to traditional public schools have always existed. These have ranged from religious schools and other private institutions to the extreme alternative of no school at all. The 1960's saw a proliferation of parent-controlled free schools. For some middle-class drop-outs, free schools provided a hopeful alternative. For other youth in the innercity, storefront schools and street academies emerged—usually supported by businesses or philanthropic organizations.

For the most part, however, the alternative schools movement had low priority and limited growth until the present decade. In large urban school districts the movement has gained momentum, and the range of alternatives has widened.

Cincinnati has been among the leaders in this development. No other major city has moved so far to provide a wide range of options to all students.

One area of expansion is college preparatory programs. Walnut Hills, founded in 1918, is Cincinnati's six-year college preparatory school. A comparable program is now offered in the neighborhood high schools for qualified students who prefer to attend school nearer their homes. The junior high college preparatory program now provided a strong academic background for qualified students in grades seven, eight, and nine, as well as an alternative program to upgrade students in basic skills.

Vocational options have also expanded dramatically. The birthplace of cooperative education, Cincinnati has traditionally been looked to as a frontrunner in offering programs that stress career preparation. The recent addition of modern vocational wings to district high schools has increased the variety of programs and made them more available to students. Students may now study Horticulture, Communications Electronics, Medical Lab Assisting, Millwork and Cabinetry, and more. These are offered in addition to the Inland Waterways Program and a program at the Zoo which offers instruction in animal care and habitats.

Another secondary option is the City-Wide Learning Community. This program provides a community-resource curriculum that combines learning with practical urban life experiences. It uses the mertopolitan area and its resources to help students immediately see practical applications of the subject matter they are learning. Students may work with businessmen, artists, farmers. They can learn to build sets at the Playhouse in the Park, help get a newspaper out, or work alongside a city councilman. One student even spent a year as "assistant" to the Superintendent of Schools.

The Cincinnati Academy of Mathematics and Science provides an opportunity for students to concentrate in science and math, with rich field experiences and in-depth laboratory study. Lectures and demonstrations permit the student to learn from scientists and mathematicians in the community.

The School for Creative and Performing Arts has gained national recognition in only three years. This program, which includes grades four to nine and will ultimately go to grade twelve, combines strong basic skills instruction, courses in humanities, sciences, foreign language, as well as studies in visual arts, instrumental and vocal music, dramatics, dance, and creative writing. It now has 556 students with 372 on the waiting list. Although it has existed in temporary locations for the past two years, the students look forward to going to school in the historic Union Terminal in 1977.

Elementary bilingual programs are available in French, German, and Spanish. Each of these alternatives is offered in two schools. Including only primary grades at present, the bilingual alternatives will add one grade each year. The programs seek to develop listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills in a second language; students will be speaking two languages fluently by grade six. These schools will ultimately continue to grade 12.

Three schools—Burton, Covedale, and Roselawn—have elementary college preparatory programs. This option is for students who need the special challenge of accelerated and enriched curricula along with basic skills development. Offered to intermediate students, this program will help prepare students to progress into the secondary college preparatory program—perhaps Walnut Hills, perhaps another college prep alternative.

Children's House is Cincinnati's Montessori school. Children from five to eight years of age participate in an all-day program of classic Montessori instruction. A second Montessori school—Children's House West—will open in September, 1976. In three other schools, selected Montessori equipment is combined with other readiness materials and manipulative learning aids in an interracial primary program.

Millvale and Parham Schools have Reading Intervention Centers, to which students with reading difficulties may elect to go for special diagnosis and instruction. The staff at these centers seek to determine why children with normal intellectual ability do not read well. After diagnoses, the reading teachers prescribe specific instructional programs for each child.

Another kind of option is the fundamental school. Some parents and students prefer a highly traditional school, and some students learn more readily in a tightly controlled environment. The Fundamental Academy stresses reading, language, mathematics, and science, along with such traditional American values as patriotism, good manners, personal grooming, and proper behavior. The program emphasizes structure, organization, and discipline in learning and self-control.

Magnet Schools are neighborhood schools which are open to students outside the neighborhood.

Three magnet elementary schools—Eastwood, Kennedy, and North Avondale—offer the Individually Guided Education (IGE) program developed by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning. Another magnet (Clifton) has a strong multi-age, nongraded program of team teaching and individualized instruction.

In Cincinnati and throughout the country, the touchstone of the alternative school plan is flexibility. Schools are adapting both to the diverse needs of students and to the ever-changing requirements of society. The approach differs from traditional concepts of education primarily in that the school system is seen as responsible for suiting the program to the student's needs, rather than forcing the student to change in order to fit into the program.

Basic to the success of alternatives is a more effective match between teaching and learning styles. Alternative schools generally attract teachers with similar instructional styles who work together to create a given kind of learning environment. Each student tends to choose the school whose environment most suits him or her.

Most educators believe that alternative schools offer a new hope that urban school systems can keep their promise of serving every student. No single curriculum can possibly capitalize on the talents and abilities and satisfy the needs of all students. Imposing a monolithic system of education on all students denies and stultifies individual and group differences, which are a crucial part of the nation's strength.

Respect for individual students and cultures is the core of the rationale for alternatives. These programs address diversity of learning styles, modes of living, cultural aspirations, value systems, and growth patterns.

Allowing students and parents to choose what best suits them from among the range of options is one of the primary reasons Cincinnati has adopted the alternative programs. The programs also improve racial balance, keep the present students, and attract new students to urban public schools.

Cincinnati school administrators are convinced that alternative schools offer a more publicly acceptable, more cost-effective means of improving racial balance in schools than any other approach. Strong alternatives attract students to integrated school settings; they draw suburban youngsters to urban public schools.

By contrast, in large cities mandatory desegregation plans usually promote segregation rather than integration. Families who resist integration flee to the suburbs.

How well are Cincinnati's alternatives accomplishing their purposes? So far, very well. Within one year 1,076 white students have returned to Cincinnati public schools from private and parochial schools. Coupled with the open enrollment policy, alternatives have done much to further integration in the schools. By definition, alternatives (other than vocational or magnet programs)

are racially balanced. Open enrollment allows students to select any school in the district where their membership will improve racial balance.

The other purpose of alternatives is to make choices available to students and parents. Participation in Cincinnati's diversified options is high. This year about a thousand students applied for open enrollment. 1,500 for full-time vocational programs, 2,800 enrolled at Walnut Hills, 450 elected the special college preparatory program at neighborhood junior high schools, and 4,210 applied for other alternatives. Of those who enrolled in alternatives, ninety percent remained in their selected programs.

Another evidence of interest is student attendance. For the first quarter of the current year, attendance rates for alternative programs averaged ninety-five percent, compared to ninety-two percent for the school district as a whole.

There is another kind of achievement that alternatives are making possible for many students. This is the success that comes from attaining goals and gaining recognition in areas that correspond to one's strongest interests and talents. There is not systematic data on what such achievement does for self-image, but educators agree that it is beneficial.

In the Creative and Performing Arts school, for instance, students have had the opportunity to gain national recognition of their talents. They have appeared in national and local television productions, toured with drama companies, and participated in every facet of the arts.

With all this, are there no disadvantages to alternatives? As with all programs involving change, the alternative school plan presents some new problems and challenges. Declining enrollments, attributable to declining birth rates as well as to alternative school transfers, have made it difficult to maintain a full range of program offerings in several neighborhood schools. Often the soundest educational decision is to close the neighborhood buildings and absorb the students in surrounding schools, but this sometimes causes adjustment problems for the community.

Also, many of the district's most knowledgeable and strongly motivated parents are choosing to send their children to the alternative programs. Some families have as many as five children attending five different programs. Often the brightest and most talented students elect to leave their neighborhood schools. This tends to remove school leaders from their former schools and disperse them throughout the district. There is, however, wholesome competition developing in neighborhood schools to improve their programs and to increase their appeal to students and parents.

Overall, the advantages of alternative learning opportunities far outweigh the disadvantages. Cincinnati school children have more educational options than any other students in the nation. Even Huck Finn might envy the student who climbed aboard a riverboat every morning for school—and learned water transportation, marine biology, and engine repair in the bargain.

[Material from National Conference on Magnet Schools in Houston, Tex.]

DISNEY LAND A BIG ATTRACTION IN CHICAGO TOO

On the edge of Uptown, one of Chicago's bleakest neighborhoods, is one of Chicago's most exciting investments in the future—the Walt Disney Magnet School. A prepossessing glass structure along Marine Drive, with a magnificent view of the lakefront, it houses the inner-city's first major experiment in nongraded education, planned integration and magnet enrollment. All this at once, and on a large scale—1,800 children.

Such an ambitious project could not, and did not, spring forth fully grown. A 1967 report from the U.S. Office of Education detailing the implications of the Civil Rights Act led the Board of Education to hire Stanton Leggett's educational consultant firm. Two years and many meetings later, a 170-student experiment—the larval stage of Disney—was initiated. Under the direction of Dr. Lorraine La Vigne, now Disney's principal, it operated in an old U.S. Marine Hospital, converting wards into structional pods.

The experiment was a success and now Chicago has what is intended to be the first of seven magnet schools. The magnet concept means that children are drawn from all over a city area and then bused to and from. Disney is open to elementary age children from the northern third of Chicago. Interested parents apply to the school and the choice of who gets in is made by computer to reflect the racial/ethnic balance of the community.

The idea here, of course, is to avoid the hostility and fear bred by unstable neighborhoods, and the crux of the plan is that parents choose to send their children to an integrated school. Pouring into the education process are the efforts of consultants, teachers, Northwestern University's education school, the Parents Advisory Council, and the Community Education Council—representing community organizations. It is this active, pluralistic input that imbues the project with such hope.

The open-plan, non-graded approach to education allows each child to progress at his own rate and to pursue his own interests. Disney has incorporated all the usual—but not for inner-city Chicago—techniques of open planning: team-teaching, paraprofessional aides, flexible space and learning resource center.

The 245,000-sq. ft., $10 million complex, designed by Perkins & Will, is set on 11 acres along the lakefront. Six acres are occupied by buildings—including the school, a communication center and an 80-car underground garage. The remaining five acres, still being developed, will be both playground area for the school and a public park for the community. In addition, the roofs of the garage and the arts center will be playground plazas.

The school building has three levels, each for a different age group. Each level contains three 8,000-sq.-ft. pods (a pod serves 200 children), administrative area, gymnasium, dining multi-use area and teacher training space arranged around the centrally located faculty planning room. Shared facilities include the multimedia library, art and music workshops, science and math labs and health service suites.

The plan—sort of geometric figure eight—was dictated by the need to make the faculty planning area the hub of each level and the desire to give each pod a view of the lakefront. Corridors are kept to a minimum by having exits lead directly from the pods—with red-painted doors for easy identification.

Openness is paramount in this building. Classroom walls, of course, have been abandoned, but even administrative and conference rooms turn glass sides to the children in the pods. The two outside walls of each pod are floor-to-ceiling clear glass, creating a continuum from inside to outside—a physical corollary to the rich, unrestrictive environment provided by the educational approach. The danger of vandalism is bypassed by the use of unbreakable polycarbonite for exterior glazing.

On the facades, the poured-in-place concrete frame is extended beyond the window plane. This cagework has the practical advantages of screening the sun and simplifying window washing, although its rationale was primarily sculptural. The architects just did not want another box.

But perhaps the key to this school is its 600-person communication arts center. This "one acre under one roof" houses a theater-in-the-round and flexible space for every kind of art studio from music, dance and painting to weaving and photography. Besides providing open-ended possibilities for the school, it is intended for community groups, adult education and supplementary programs by other schools.

The program for the school was a joint effort of the Board of Education, the Public Building Commission and Perkins & Will.

What Portland Did To Change the Complexion of a One-Race School

Martin Luther King School was built in 1927 to serve the needs of Kindergarten through eight grade students. After World War II King School's racial composition changed rapidly, reaching 97 percent minority in the year of 1970 and serving a student body of 1,100. Portland Public Schools recognized the racial isolation of this school and instituted a volunteer busing program, which allowed minority students open enrollment to any school in the district that was composed of a majority population. This reduced the population of King School from 1,100 to 550 students. Although the population was reduced, the racial composition remained 97 percent minority. While the program was successful in integrating 550 minority students into other schools, a solution was still needed to correct the racial isolation at King School.

Planning began in 1973 by staff and community to design a program that would attract majority students to King School. The result of this planning was the development of a magnet program called the "Martin Luther King, Jr. 4–11 Continuous Progress Program."

77-171—76——3

To insure a total learning environment, the King staff was organized into teaching teams supported by instructional specialists. The underlying philosophy in curriculum development was to help each child develop within himself the concept of becoming a positive learner and to emphasize that the reward is in what the child gains from experience itself. Basic skills are interwoven and reinforced throughout the curriculum. The educational needs are based on previous performance and successes through a continuous scope and sequence record-keeping system. Activities are geared to what the child is ready to learn rather than what he or she must learn. The 4–11 skill continuum is not only unique and innovative in developing positive learners, but is designed to bring children of different backgrounds into an educational setting to learn about other cultures.

In order for the program to be successful, staff applicants were carefully screened for qualities to meet these basic philosophies. The new program was initiated in the school year of 1975–76 with great success. The enrollment was open to majority students from the entire district. Quotas were rapidly filled and a waiting list was maintained. The racial composition changed from 97 percent to 72 percent.

Recognizing the desirability of a facility to meet these program needs, architectural services were contracted to plan with staff and community. The school year 1975–76 was spent in designing this remodeling facility. The architects met with individual teaching teams, staff members, parents and administration to design this facility to be compatible with the magnet programs, teaching styles and total school philosophy. Included in this design planning were educational specifications such as controlled open space, team teaching areas, utilization of wasted space, redesigned restroom facilities, motor perceptual skills areas, a mall for more efficient use of office space and a parent meeting room. Also, a central multimedia center incorporating the library, teacher resource center and the video studio, reading lab area, science and math areas, a conference room and new playground design.

Included in the changes was the updating of the physical plant.

The new facility will be ready the fall of 1976, with long waiting lists. Racial balance for 1976–77 school year is predicted to be 65 percent minority and 35 percent majority.

[From the Dayton Daily News, May 2, 1976]

INTEGRATION PROPOSAL OFFERS ALTERNATIVES TO BUSING

The proposal probably doesn't stand a snowball's chance in the current congressional session, but for the record, Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) has made a potentially valuable contribution to the school desegregation muddle.

Indeed, as its opponents say, busing really isn't the best way to get school integration in many circumstances, though it is hardly the terror eager frightmongers and closet racists like to make it out to be. But for both moral and practical reasons, the challenge of getting over the deep racial crack that divides Americans like an earthquake fault-line remains among the most urgent social necessities.

Sen. Glenn has offered a sensible middle course. It would not create total school integration, and it would be no redress at all for the outright Jim Crow segregation that busing was first designed to wipe out. But his approach could seed substantial school integration—enough to free many communities from the necessity of busing.

The senator has introduced legislation that would provide about $1 billion annually in federal aid for school districts undertaking projects that would result in significant voluntary integration.

The funds could be used to develop and build "magnet" schools that attract students from a broad base because of the schools' special educational offerings. It would aid vocational or college preparatory courses sponsored either by businesses or universities. It would help with the construction of new schools in racially mixed areas, and it would aid the construction of multi-school complexes called "educational parks."

All the approaches are, first, educationally sound and enriching, and where they have been well designed and conscientiously administered—as even in Dayton, to a limited degree—they have proved they can attract and hold stable, racially integrated enrollments. And, happily, they achieve integration without the kind of busing that has become the demagogues's best friend.

Alas, most senators and congressmen would rather harangue against busing than shell out hard money for alternatives that seek the same racial justice. Perhaps in time, Sen. Glenn's approach or some enlarged version of it will win the place in national policy that it deserves.

Certainly the persons who say they are against busing but favor school integration would be doing themselves and their nation a favor by rallying to this flag instead of seething in aimless frustration or taking out their emotions in pointless, often dangerous demonstrations.

[From the Congressional Record, Apr. 14, 1976]

(By Mr. Glenn)

S. 3319. A bill to amend the Emergency School Aid Act to provide innovative desegregation programs and procedures, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION INNOVATION ACT OF 1976

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, today I rise to introduce S. 3319, the School Integration Innovation Act of 1976.

S. 3319 extends the Emergency School Aid Assistance Act—ESAA—through August 31, 1978, at an authorized funding level of $1 billion per year. The bill also amends the ESAA by clarifying and adding to the activities for which ESAA funds can be used by communities implementing both court ordered and voluntary desegregation plans. Specifically, S. 3319 would provide for funds to support:

First. The construction and/or operation of "magnet" schools;

Second. The pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses;

Third. The construction and development of education parks and neutral site schools;

Fourth. Education programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools.

My bill provides that nothing in this act shall be construed in a manner that is inconsistent with the full enforcement of the 5th and 14th amendments to the Constitution and of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Mr. President, I introduce this legislation with a sense of urgency because I would like to provide a positive direction and some practical solutions in the overheated area of school desegregation. Debate on this issue has now deteriorated to irrationality and emotionalism when the discussion should be on how best to provide a good education for all students and at the same time desegregate our schools under the law. Basically our thrust should be—and this is the central purpose of S. 3319—to design and develop schools that will be so attractive to whites, blacks, and other racial groups that school integration will occur naturally rather than through the mandatory busing of schoolchildren. While that objective will be difficult to achieve—and perhaps impossible to achieve totally—it is worth striving for to the maximum extent possible.

My home State of Ohio now has pending seven major school desegregation lawsuits and roughly 30 additional desegregation investigations. The seven lawsuits involve over 400,000 students. Soon, it is likely that communities in Ohio will be faced with the implementation of desegregation plans. Emergency school aid assistance money will be needed by those communities to pay for new educational programs related to those plans. My bill would provide that assistance.

Mr. President, rhetoric on the desegregation issue has grown most shrill where the question of busing has been raised. Busing is an issue that has been bent and torn every way in this political year. Under the name of the busing issue we have seen assaults made upon many of the hard-won constitutional protections that blacks now have.

Since coming to the Senate, I have resisted all efforts to set back school desegregation and to undermine the constitutional and Civil Rights Act protections of black citizens. Busing has been a way of achieving desegregation in our schools, and, despite the inconvenience and expense, it must be preserved as one remedy for segregation, where needed.

There are, of course, other means of desegregation, but many of these have not been used effectively over the years. These methods—magnet schools, neutral site

construction, educational parks, and business-school pairings to name a few—traditionally have not received adequate Government financial assistance, even where they could have provided appropriate solutions to segregation problems.

S. 3319 would provide additional assistance for these other valuable desegregation methods. The bill would not reduce current authority to require busing or to provide assistance in conjunction with busing. It would insure, however, that where more effective desegregation options are available, they will not fail for lack of funding.

Mr. President, the Emergency School Aid Act of 1972 became law as part of the Education Amendments of 1972 (P.L. 92-318). This act provides money to assist school districts in the implementation of court-ordered desegregation plans. It also assists districts with de jure or de facto racial segregation which choose voluntarily to implement plans for desegregation and for overcoming the effects of racial isolation. Implementation of the act has operated in roughly this way. Approximately 87 percent of the ESAA appropriation is allocated to the States based upon the number of minority group children aged 5 through 17 in the State. Thirteen percent of the ESAA appropriation is reserved for special programs and projects, educational television projects and evaluations. The special programs and projects section is designed to help fund programs especially designed to complement larger programs and projects carried out by local education agencies.

It is these larger basic grants, Mr. President, to which my legislation is primarily addressed. I am impressed with the present range of innovative programs by local educational agencies that the existing law encourages. They include remedial and tutorial srevice programs, in-service teacher training, curriculum innovation and much more. Additionally, section 709 of this act addresses itself to such metropolitan area projects as the planning and construction of education parks.

So, Mr. President, this is a laudable and educationally sound program. It recognizes that areas undergoing desegregation have special needs and require extra assistance. Furthermore, this program encourages localities to grapple with the special problems attendant both to school desegregation and to poor quality schools in the inner city.

EDUCATION IN THE INNER CITY

My bill would add to the list of programs and plans for which ESAA assistance may be given under section 707(a) of the act, specific language that would cover innovative school desegregation measures, including programs and plans especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools. I believe that it is time to consider the improvement of inner-city schools as a vital component of any plan dealing with the vestiges of segregation, either de facto or de jure.

Improving inner-city schools as part of a plan for school desegregation makes sense. Such improvement makes transportation over long distances in search of good schools less necessary. Also, it is of vital importance to the stability and coherency of the inner city itself that there be strong, high quality, educational institutions there. Such schools provide a focal point for community pride and leadership. They should not be neglected in the name of integration; they should be strengthened and improved. The Third Interim Report of the National Advisory Council on Equality of Educational Opportunity, the panel charged with evaluating the ESAA program, in its June 1975 report, has recommended that Congress recognize the importance of improving the educational quality of "minority impacted" schools. I believe that my bill is consistent with this recommendation made by a panel of very distinguished individuals within the field of education.

Let us begin to look at what is offered educationally in the inner city. Is the faculty strong? Are the facilities substantial? A physically integrated or physically all-black school are both still "segregated" if school systems have allowed poor quality schools in black areas. My bill would serve to improve schools in both white and black neighborhoods irrespective of whether or not busing is involved. My bill would also serve to increase the likelihood of integration in all neighborhoods irrespective of any consideration of busing. Thus, in the circumstances mentioned in Ohio, whether courts order busing as a part of desegregation plans or not, my bill would do two things: First, encourage the improvement of education for all children in all areas; and second, promote

integration. My bill is intended to be complementary to any plan for desegregation which might be devised.

OTHER INNOVATIVE METHODS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Of the other methods of desegregation which are available to school districts, I am particularly impressed with the possibilities offered by "magnet" schools. The concept has been much talked about politically, but little initiative has been taken to encourage its implementation. Yet magnet schools offer an excellent way to work to eliminate much of ordered busing, to improve the quality of education and to aid in desegregating the schools.

I ask unanimous consent that this bill be printed in the Record, along with accompanying articles and statistics on past use of ESAA funds nationally and in Ohio.

There being no objection, the bill and material were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"S. 3319

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That this Act may be cited as the "School Integration Innovation Act of 1976."

SEC. 2. Section 707(a) of the Emergency School Aid Act is amended by adding after paragraph (12) of such section the following new paragraphs:

"(13) Construction and operation of 'magnet schools'.

"(14) The pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses.

"(15) The development of plans for and the construction of 'neutral site' schools.

"(16) Construction and development of education parks.

"(17) Education programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools, and the general use of 'education magnetism'."

"SEC. 3. Nothing in this Act shall be construed in a manner inconsistent with the full enforcement of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

"SEC. 4. Section 704(a) of the Emergency School Aid Act is amended by adding after the second sentence thereof the following new sentence: "There are further authorized to be appropriated $250,000,000 for the period beginning on July 1, 1976 and ending on September 30, 1976; $1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year 1977; and $1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year 1978."

[From the Congressional Record, July 23, 1976]

ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE SCHOOL INTEGRATION INNOVATION ACT OF 1976

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, on April 14, 1976, I introduced S. 3319 the School Integration Innovation Act of 1976. S. 3319 extends the Emergency School Aid Act through August 31, 1978, at an authorized funding level of $1 billion per year. The bill also amends the ESAA by clarifying and adding to the activities for which ESAA funds can be used by communities implement both court ordered and voluntary desegregation plans. These activities are:

First. The construction and/or operation of "magnet" schools.

Second. The pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses.

Third. The construction and development of educational parks and neutral site schools.

Fourth. Educational programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools.

My bill provides that nothing in this act shall be construed in a manner that is inconsistent with the full enforcement of the 5th and 14th amendments of the Constitution and of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The text of S. 3319 has been introduced in the House of Representatives as H.R. 14700 by my colleagues from Ohio, Mr. SEIBERLING and Mr. WHALEN. I am very pleased that congressional leaders from Ohio are taking the initiative in providing constructive approaches to the school desegregation problem. It is my hope that these measures will help our State and others avoid some of the recent turmoil experienced in desegregating communities.

I am also very pleased to note that in addition to the authors of H.R. 14700 there are already 16 cosponsors including the distinguished Congresswoman from California (Mrs. YVONNE BURKE) chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus. Here in the Senate, I am pleased to add the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. GARY HART), the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), and the distinguished Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY) as cosponsors. I am hopeful that our efforts with S. 3319 and H.R. 14700 mark the beginning of a broad effort to bring an end to the divisive and dangerous rhetoric over busing.

I introduced S. 3319 because I wanted to provide a positive direction and some practical solutions in the overheated area of school desegregation. Public and national debate on this issue has too often deteriorated to irrationality and emotionalism when the discussion should be on how best to provide a good education for all students and at the same time desegregate our schools under the law.

S. 3319 makes no claim of "solving" the "busing problem." The purpose of the bill is to help provide for and encourage a range of desegregation remedies, suited to locales, that when properly implemented would improve schools in both black and white neighborhoods to the point that school integration would occur more naturally. We could have avoided much of the turmoil we have today if school authorities years ago had recognized that they had to desegregate under the law and determined creative ways of doing so—without waiting for courts to impose busing.

Increased use of the methods authorized in S. 3319 could significantly cut down our reliance on busing to achieve desegregation. I believe, and documentation mentioned in my April 14, 1976 statement indicates, that desegregation is possible with a minimum amount of busing. The thrust of S. 3319 is to provide communities with the specific tools and funding necessary to achieve this result.

S. 3319 is a direct and positive approach in an area that has often been muddled in this highly political year by misguided and unfortunate efforts to roll back the clock on civil rights protections, undermine constitutionally protected remedies and place restrictions on court jurisdiction.

Will the methods authorized in S. 3319 work? Are they educationally sound? My staff has assembled a selection of materials, particularly on "magnet schools." These materials represent a good cross-section of commentary on various cities' experiences and success with innovative methods of school integration. It should be stressed that only sound local community planning and administration can bring these methods to full fruition as successful educational programs that also help accomplish desegregation.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN GLENN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Senator GLENN. Mr. Chairman, I think some of the issues surrounding education and busing have bordered around such emotionalism and irrationality in the past time periods that we have to be very careful in starting out any discussion concerning the intent of this legislation.

It is not to replace busing, but we do think that some of these efforts to make improved educational systems and educational opportunities in communities with magnet schools that will attract students to those schools, whatever their race, be they black or white, performs a function of natural integration. Perhaps if we had a natural integration process ten years ago, much of the necessity for court-ordered busing would have been alleviated.

We provide in this bill four basic methods of upgrading education in these areas that we think would help solve this problem.

First: The construction and operation of magnet schools.

Second: The pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses.

Third: The construction and development of educational parks and neutral site schools.

Fourth: Educational programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools.

Now, by taking those four means and putting some adequate funding with them—and Mr. Chairman, I might add, we do not make any claim that the amount of money that we are calling for in this bill would do the whole job for the country, but it certainly would at least make a start. But using these four methods, we feel that there could be a great step made in making a natural integration process that would have taken away, as I said, had it been put into effect some years ago—would have taken away some of the requirement for court-ordered busing.

I have, in my complete statement, Mr. Chairman, a better description of what we mean by the magnet schools, what we mean by the educational parks and neutral sites. We have in Ohio, Mr. Chairman, some 400,000 students awaiting the careful final deliberations of distinguished judges on this issue.

It is no criticism of them to say that I want them and the 400,000 students to be able to contemplate positive, practical and exciting educational options, and that is the intent of this bill. It is to fund activities, and make those available now.

I realize fully that there are some who have been involved with the whole civil rights movement for a long time and have been strong, civil rights advocates in the Congress who feel that perhaps this is not the time for this, that maybe the climate is not right, in an election year. But Mr. Chairman, I do not think we can put off decisions like this just because we have an election year. I think, as I said, had we had this a long time ago, perhaps it would have helped us out of some of our problems in the past. I think that we need to move ahead of this very firmly and strongly, and not just be defensive in this area of civil rights. We need to be moving out with programs that we can all get behind and support, not just sitting back trying to defend rights that have been won. We need to be moving out and extending the rights that have been won into greater areas. We feel a bill like this will help do that in the educational areas. It is much needed, and will provide a very valuable function.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. I did want, in particular, to note that the superintendent of schools in Cleveland, Dr. Briggs, is with us this morning and will testify later. We have had occasion in the past to talk to him in detail about this.

I know he has worked along some of these same areas in Cleveland. We are most happy to welcome him here with us this morning.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much. I think that we will withhold our questions, because of the time element here this morning, until we have heard from all of the witnesses.

Go ahead, Congressman Seiberling.

[Prepared statement of Hon. John F. Seiberling follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to join my two Ohio colleagues and your other distinguished witnesses this morning at this hearing on HR 14365, the School Integration Innovation Act of 1976.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for scheduling this hearing on very short notice, and fitting it into a very crowded subcommittee schedule.

I will be brief. As you know, Senator John Glenn is the author of this bill, and introduced it last April in the Senate. Congressman Whalen and I jointly introduced the bill in the House last month with 16 cosponsors whose names are listed at the end of my testimony.

The bill would extend the Emergency School Aid Act through 1978 and provide $1 billion a year for the next two years for all the projects authorized. It also would authorize support for the following new projects:

—construction and operation of magnet schools, neutral site schools and educational parks

—development of "pairing" between public schools and local colleges, universities and businesses

—education programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools.

I want to make several points about the bill and then turn the microphone over to your other witnesses.

First, and most importantly, I want to emphasize what we all know—that racial imbalance in our public schools is actually worsening in some parts of the country, despite the laws and federal aid. According to data compiled recently by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and analyzed by the Brookings Institution, racial imbalance in public schools has increased steadily in the Northeast during the 1970's to the point where schools in that area and in the Midwest are now the most segregated in the nation.

In the Northeast in 1974, 81% of the black children attended "predominantly minority" public schools while 57.8% of the black children attended "intensely segregated schools" (schools with a 90–100% minority enrollment). In the Midwest in 1974, 80.6% of the black children attended "predominantly minority" public schools while 62.2% attended "intensely segregated schools."

In the South and Border states, however, where efforts to desegregate schools have been concentrated, racial segregation has declined since 1970. However, it is still unacceptably high, with 55.5% of black children in Southern schools attending predominantly minority schools and 23.4% attending intensely segregated schools. Patterns in Western schools have remained unchanged since 1970.

I would like to submit a discussion of this data, recently released by Senators Edward Brooke and Jacob Javits, for the hearing record.

The "emergency" declared by Congress in 1971 with the passage of the Emergency School Aid Act is not only still with us, it is growing. The Congress *must* respond.

The second point I would like to make is that the magnet school concept has been tried in many areas of the country with some degree of success. But there is *no* federal financial support for construction of magnet schools. We think there should be.

I want to emphasize that the supporters of this bill are not suggesting that magnet schools, or any of the other projects authorized by this bill will be a panacea for school desegregation. Nor will the bill do away with the need for busing where courts find that busing is necessary to desegregate a school system. What it will do is provide some additional ways besides those already available to help achieve school desegregation. If, in some instances, a magnet school reduces the need for court imposed busing, that is a plus which I think would be welcomed by everyone. But essentially, the appeal of magnet schools, when they work, is that they help to desegregate a school system naturally, while improving the educational opportunities of students in the system. And that to me is the issue here today.

In my opinion, the emotional controversy over busing has tended to sidetrack us from the real goal, which is trying to find a way to provide a quality education for every child. It isn't only minority children that are being deprived of quality education opportunities, but a lot of others too. The irony is that some of the money spent on busing could be better spent on the up-grading of in-class programs.

I understand that Senator Glenn will be offering numerous exhibits for the hearing record on experiences school districts have had with magnet schools and other projects authorized by this bill. I want to draw the subcommittee's attention to just one school district—Milwaukee. Beginning this fall, Milwaukee will implement a 3-year school desegregation program approved by the court which will rely primarily on the "magnetized" school concept. I understand that this is the most ambitious application of the concept to date and of course everyone will be following it very closely.

The third point I think is worthy of note is that the idea of federal school construction funds to help desegregate schools is not new. In 1967, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report on ways to eliminate racial isolation. In that report, they recommended a program of "substantial financial assistance to provide for construction of new facilities and improvement in the quality of education in all schools."

And in testimony before the Senate Education subcommittee in 1970 and again in 1971 on the proposed Emergency School Aid Act, the idea of federal construction funds was repeatedly advocated by witnesses from the education and civil rights communities.

Since that time, of course, the cost of building a new school has risen dramatically. Between 1971 and 1973, the average cost of a new classroom in the U.S. jumped from $63,000 to $87,100. I was unable to locate more current figures, but it is safe to assume I think that in the last 3 years, costs have probably jumped to nearly $100,000 a classroom.

In some instances, particularly in areas with declining school enrollments, some schools can be extensively remodeled and new construction is not necessary. In my own district, there is one very successful magnet school in the central city which was largely rebuilt in 1975. But in other cases, it is cheaper to build an entirely new school than to try to renovate an old structure.

Mr. Chairman, this bill recognizes that the federal purse is not unlimited. The authorization provided in this bill for the entire ESAA program for the next two years is $1 billion a year, the same as the present authorization. Of course, we would hope that if this bill is passed, the appropriation would come closer to the authorization figure than it has in the past. It is my understanding that the demand for services under the ESAA program is substantial, and that in the 1975–76 school year, only about 60 percent of the school districts who applied and about 51 percent of the non-profit agencies who applied were actually given funds.

Without this bill, it appears that ESAA could effectively use more funds than it has had available in recent years. With this bill, they certainly will need more funds.

I think most Americans—if given a choice—would choose to spend $1 billion a year to desegregate our public schools and improve the quality of education—and cut back elsewhere, if necessary. The nation's greatest treasure is its children.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Cosponsors to H.R. 14365, the School Integration Innovation Act, introduced by Congressmen Seiberling and Whalen are: Mr. Ashley, Mr. Bedell, Mrs. Burke of California, Mr. Downey of New York, Mr. Edgar, Mr. Edwards of California, Mr. Eilberg, Ms. Keys, Mr. Mazzoli, Mr. Moorhead of Pennsylvania, Mr. Preyer, Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Simon, Mr. James V. Stanton, and Mr. Weaver.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mr. SEIBERLING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is certainly a pleasure as well as a privilege to be here with you today. I want to thank you for scheduling this hearing and thank the committee, and I want not only to express my gratification at being associated with my two distinguished colleagues in Ohio with this legislation, but I am happy to associate myself with both the prepared and impromptu statements that Senator Glenn has just made.

I would like to ask unanimous consent to include my——

Chairman PERKINS. Without objection, your prepared statement will be inserted in the record, and you can go ahead and proceed any way that you prefer.

Mr. SEIBERLING. I would just like to state a couple of high points, if I may.

As you know, Senator Glenn is the original author of this bill, and Congressman Whalen and I jointly introduced it in the House, and we now have six cosponsors whose names are listed at the end of my testimony.

I would like to make several points about the bill. First, I would like to emphasize what we all know, that racial imbalance in our public schools is actually worsening in some parts of the country despite the laws and the Federal aid.

According to data recently compiled by the Department of HEW, it has increased steadily in the Northeast during the 1970's to the point where schools in that area, and in the Midwest, are now the most segregated in the Nation.

I would like to include with my statement data recently released by Senators Brooke and Javits, for the hearing record, if I may.

[News data of Senators Brooke and Javits follows:]

H.E.W. FIGURES SHOW SCHOOL SEGREGATION INCREASING IN NORTHEAST, SOUTH, AND BORDER STATES, SHOW GREATEST GAINS IN INTEGREGATION

BROOKE AND JAVITS CALL FOR LEADERSHIP IN THE NORTH TO MEET THE CHANGES ACCOMPLISHED IN SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES

WASHINGTON.—U.S. Senators Edward Brooke (R-Mass) and Jacob K. Javits (R-NY) today released official government statistics showing that there has been very little change in the high levels of segregation of black school children during the 1970's. The statistics show that the Southern, Midwest and Border states have continued to make some progress while segregated school enrollment in the Northeast has increased. The West has remained virtually unchanged since 1970.

The data also show very high levels of segregation of Latino children, the nation's rapidly growing second-largest minority group. The segregation of Latino students continued to increase in the 1970's in all regions of the nation.

This new information is based on official enrollment reports from local school systems to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare covering a period from the fall of 1970 to the 1974–75 school year. H.E.W. has not released similar statistics regarding enrollment since 1972. In addition, the figures represent the first release of H.E.W. tabulations on Latino segregation trends.

This government data was produced in response to a March 30, 1976 request from Brooke and Javits. The Senators asked the H.E.W. Office for Civil Rights to provide "the most accurate and current information available on the current status of urban school segregation" to assist in considering of pending legislation. The data was analyzed by Gary Orfield of Brookings Institution.

To analyze trends it was necessary to limit the study to those districts that had consistently provided data to H.E.W. over the five year period. The districts studied contain 31,800 schools and enroll more than 90 per cent of the nation's black children and about 75 per cent of those with Spanish surnames. Since a number of small districts, which have lower levels of segregation, are not included, the total national figures might well show modestly higher levels of desegregation. The study clearly shows the trends affecting the large majority of blacks and Hispanic children, particularly those in the big cities where the busing conflict is most severe.

The data also shows that the gap between the Southern states, which are finishing desegregation, and the Northern states, which seem only to be beginning, continues to widen. The Southern states, where 98 per cent of black children were in all-black schools when the 1964 Civil Rights Act passed, have shown remarkable progress. By 1970 Southern schools became more desegregated than those in the North and West. The new statistics show continued progress in the Southern and Border state areas in the 1970's. In the districts studied, more than 44 per cent of Southern black students were in schools with less than half minority children by 1974.

The Midwest and the Northeast are now the nation's most segregated school districts. In both, approximately 81 per cent of black children studied were attending predominantly minority schools during the 1974–75 school year. The Northeast was the only region where segregation was continuing to increase.

The regional differences, according to the H.E.W. statistics, are even more striking in cases of extreme segregation. The figures show that 45 per cent of all black students in the Midwest went to schools with 99–100 per cent minority enrollment. Such schools serve about a third of black children in the Northeast, a fourth in the West, but only about a seventh in the South.

Data on children in schools with more than 90 per cent minority enrollment show similar regional differences, reported in table 2 (attached). A black student in the Midwest or Northeast is more than twice as likely as his Southern counterpart to attend such a segregated school.

The record of the Southern and Border states is all the more significant because they have proportionately far larger black populations to integrate. In 1972, 27.3 per cent of students in the South were black, 16.5 per cent of students in the Border states, but only 9.8 per cent of pupils in the North and West.

"The statistics clearly show," Brooke and Javits stated, "that school desegregation enforcement in the Southern and Border states has had a major and lasting impact. Within a decade the region where complete school segregation prevailed has become the pioneer in desegregated education." The momentum of change was established by H.E.W. enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in the rural South and sustained by the urban desegregation court orders of the 1970's.

"The data from the North and West," the Senators stated, "show how few children have been affected by desegregation plans outside the South." "We have a severe problem of racial separation, the very pattern predicted by the Kerner Commission in 1968. We need constructive national leadership in helping the North come to terms with the changes that many Southern communities have now successfully accomplished."

Perhaps the most surprising information emerging from the H.E.W. data concerns the school segregation of Latino children. These trends should be interpreted cautiously, since the survey covers only an estimated 74 per cent of Latino children. The statistics are most reliable in the Northeast and the South. They cover 62 per cent of Midwestern Latinos and 66 per cent of those in the West. (Border state statistics are not reported separately because of the low number of children involved and the low rate of coverage of this study.)

The figures also show that while segregation trends were modestly favorable for blacks in the '70's, because of progress in the South, segregation of Latino children in the districts studied increased. During the 1974–75 school year, Hispanic children were more likely than blacks to be attending predominantly minority schools. Such segregation is stable or growing in every region.

Latino children were still significantly less likely than blacks to be in schools with nine-tenths or more minority students, but that trend was developing in some regions. Most striking was the rapid increase of intense Latino school segregation in the Midwest during this five-year period. By 1974, half of the nation's Spanish surname students studied attended schools with 70 per cent or more minority enrollment.

"Increasing segregation of the rapidly growing Latino population" according to Brooke and Javits "poses difficult new issues of school policy." The Supreme Court's 1973 decision, Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver Colo., 413 U.S. 189, ordered desegregation of Mexican American children in Denever. In a number of cities, Latinos are now the largest minority group. "The statistics suggest that we may face not merely a division into two separate societies, but crystallization of a rigid three-way division in our urban schools. We need much closer examination of the implications of these trends for Latino children and for American society" the two Senators said.

TABLE 1.—PROPORTION OF BLACK CHILDREN IN PREDOMINANTLY MINORITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1970-74

[In percent]

	1970	1972	1974
National	70.6	67.6	66.8
South	62.1	56.2	55.5
Border and District of Columbia	78.5	75.1	71.9
Northeast	78.7	79.6	81.0
Midwest	83.2	81.5	80.6
West	74.3	73.6	73.4

Source: HEW Office for Civil Rights, May 1976.

Note: The statistics in this table are based on enrollment reports from districts estimated to contain approximately 92 percent of the Nation's black students in 1972–73.

TABLE 2.—PROPORTION OF BLACK CHILDREN IN INTENSELY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS, (90 TO 100 PERCENT MINORITY ENROLLMENT)

[In percent]

	1970	1972	1974
South	34.2	25.7	23.4
Border and District of Columbia	63.9	61.8	58.4
West	50.5	46.9	45.1
Northeast	52.5	54.6	57.8
Midwest	64.4	62.9	62.2
National	46.4	42.0	40.5

Source: HEW Office for Civil Rights, May 1976.

Note: The statistics in this table are based on enrollment reports from districts which contained an estimated 92 percent of the Nation's black enrollment according to universe projections based on 1972–73 enrollment reports.

TABLE 3.—PERCENTAGE OF LATINO CHILDREN IN PREDOMINANTLY MINORITY SCHOOLS 1970–74

[In percent]

	1970	1972	1974
National	64.2	65.2	67.4
Northeast	84.2	83.1	84.2
South	72.6	72.3	72.8
Midwest	52.6	53.4	57.1
West	48.5	51.4	56.3

Source: HEW Office for Civil Rights May 1976.

Note: The statistics in this and the following tables are based on enrollment figures from districts estimated to contain 74 percent of the Nation's Latino students at the time of HEW's last universe projections covering the 1972–73 school year. The data covers an estimated 87 percent of Latino enrollment in the Northeast 82 percent in the South 66 percent in the West, and 62 percent in the Midwest.

TABLE 4.—PROPORTION OF LATINO CHILDREN IN INTENSELY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS (90 TO 100 PERCENT MINORITY ENROLLMENT)

[In cent]

	1970	1972	1974
National	29.0	29.2	30.0
Northeast	50.0	50.5	53.8
Midwest	11.7	15.0	20.9
West	14.6	14.2	15.7
South	36.1	35.5	34.1

TABLE 5

1974 enrollment of Latino children in schools with 70 percent or more minority children

	1974 Percent
National:	
Northeast	71.7
South	56.8
Midwest	40.8
West	34.9

Source: HEW Office for Civil Rights, May 1976.

Mr. SEIBERLING. In short, the emergency declared in Congress in 1971 with the passage of the Emergency School Aid Act is not only still with us, it is growing, and the Congress, I believe, must respond.

The second point I would like to make is that the magnet school concept has been tried in many areas of the country with some degree of success, but there is no Federal financial support for the construction of magnet schools, and we think there should be.

I would like to emphasize, very strongly that the supporters of this bill are not suggesting that magnet schools, or any of the other projects authorized by this bill would be a panacea for school desegregation, nor will the bill do away with the need for busing where courts find that busing is necessary to desegregate a school system.

What the bill would do is to provide some additional ways besides those already available to help achieve school desegregation, and if, in some instances, a magnet school reduces a need for court-imposed busing, that is a plus which I think would be welcomed by everyone.

In my opinion, the emotional controversy that has taken place over busing has tended to sidetrack us from the real goal which is trying to find a way to provide quality education for every child. It is not only minority children who are being deprived of quality educational opportunities, but a lot of others, too, and the irony, of course, is that some of the money spent on busing could be better spent on the upgrading of in-class programs.

The third point, I think, is worthy of note is that the idea of Federal school construction funds to help desegregate schools is not new. In 1967, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report on ways to eliminate racial isolation, and in that report, they recommended a program—and I am quoting—"of substantial financial assistance to provide for the construction of new facilities and improvement in the quality of education in all schools."

In testimony before the Senate Education Committee in 1970 and again in 1971 on the proposed Emergency School Aid Act, the idea of Federal construction funds was repeatedly advocated by witnesses from the education and civil rights communities.

Mr. Chairman, I think most Americans, if given the choice, would choose to spend $1 billion a year to desegregate our public schools and improve the quality of education and cut back elsewhere, if necessary. The Nation's greatest treasure is its children.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you, Mr. Seiberling.

Go ahead, Congressman Whalen.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mr. WHALEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am grateful for this opportunity to speak on behalf of H.R. 14365, the School Integration Innovation Act of 1976 which Representative John F. Seiberling and I, along with 16 co-sponsors, have introduced.

As you know, this is a companion to S. 3319 sponsored by Senator John Glenn in the other body.

In view of the time constraints, I shall be brief and will touch upon two points. First, what are the provisions of H.R. 14365?

This measure amends the Emergency School Aid Act of 1972 by adding the following to the activities for which ESAA funds may be used: (1) Construction and operation of magnet schools; (2) the pairing of schools and programs with specific colleges and universities and with leading businesses; (3) the development of plans for and the construction of neutral site schools; (4) development and construction

of educational parks; (5) education programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools and the general use of education magnetism.

It also extends ESSA through fiscal year 1978 at an authorized funding level of $1 billion annually.

Mr. Chairman, before proceeding to my second point, let me tell you what the Seiberling-Whalen bill does not do. It does not seek to remove any of the remedies, including busing, which are now employed to correct constitutional violations. This is underscored in section 3 of the bill, which reads as follows, and I quote:

> Nothing in this Act shall be construed in a manner inconsistent with the full enforcement of the 5th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Indeed, I could not support legislation which forbids the Federal courts from prescribing remedies such as busing when they have adjudged that constitutional rights have been violated. Clearly, no individual should be denied the protection of the Constitution. It should be applied to all Americans, not just some Americans.

This leads me to my second point, Mr. Chairman. What is the purpose of H.R. 14365?

In passing the Emergency School Aid Act of 1972, Congress recognized that Court-orded desegregation adds to the cost of operating school systems in the effected communities. For example, in the city of Dayton which I represent, it is estimated by Superintendent John Maxwell that the desegregation plan which will be invoked next month will increase the Board of Education's budget by approximately $9 million per year. Thus, ESAA was designed to provide some financial relief to cities in the process of desegregation.

Busing is an oft-used instrument prescribed by the courts for school desegregation.

However, since 1972, successful new methods of achieving desegregation have been developed. The School Integration Innovation Act is intended to keep pace with these new trends and to provide school districts with the tools, and the funds, needed to accomplish desegregation in a constructive, well-planned manner.

Martin Essex, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Ohio Department of Education, has termed H.R. 14365, and I quote, "one of the cornerstone to a solution."

Many Americans have expressed their concern about the advisability of busing, but few are opposed to desegregation. Through the School Integration Innovation Act, Congress can make alternatives to busing more viable by providing school districts with the necessary funds to implement imaginative approaches to desegregation.

Hopefully, this legislation will contribute to the diffusing of the busing issue and focus our national energies on quality equal education opportunities for all of our children.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you, Congressman Whalen.

We are delighted to welcome our colleague from North Carolina, Judge Preyer.

You may proceed, Mr. Preyer. Without objection, your prepared statement will be inserted in the record.

[Prepared statement of Hon. Richardson Preyer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARDSON PREYER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to testify on behalf of the School Integration Innovation Act of 1976. I believe that Mr. Seiberling and Mr. Whalen have evidenced real vision in seeing through the problem of busing as a means to desegregation to the real issue of desegregation itself.

I have long been a proponent of constructive alternatives to busing that serve to promote desegregation while not alienating our people through the unpopular method of busing. Accordingly, drawing on the advice of Alexander Bickel, the late constitutional scholar from Yale, I joined Mr. Udall, Mr. Symington, and Mr. Hamilton in introducing the National Educational Opportunities Act of 1976. This Act fully endorses the concepts suggested by H.R. 14365, as an important element in solving the problems of desegregation and equal opportunity in education.

I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that busing is not the underlying problem confronting desegregation today, but rather a manifestation of what has been brought before the courts to date. The courts have virtually been forced to order busing as a means of desegregation, because they have had no other sensible option.

But the courts have been presented with the narrow issue of "bus" or "don't bus" instead of the more creative and reasonable approach of innovative desegregation. I am not a proponent of busing. But I am a proponent of desegregation, and I think that there are better ways than busing to achieve that end. The bill Mr. Seiberling and Mr. Whalen present today would do just that—offer alternatives spurred by Emergency School Aid Assistance funds for construction of magnet and neutral site schools and education parks, for pairing, and for improvement of the educational quality of inner city schools. This is what equal opportunity is all about.

Of course, there is no positive guarantee that any of these methods will work, but I am firmly convinced they will. When people from the localities are brought into the decision-making process, and the people who are affected the most are voicing their concerns, there is real reason for optimism. The problem in the past has been that those who are affected the most have been consulted the least. No one is saying that magnet schools will work everywhere, but the people of Milwaukee are standing strongly behind them. No one is saying that pairing is a sureproof blueprint for desegregation, but it has worked in some areas, and it can work in still more. The point is this: each area is unique and people are unique. Let us draw on the uniqueness of the region and of the individual to implement plans which will at last serve to carry out the intentions announced by the Supreme Court over 20 years ago.

Senator Glenn, whom I commend highly for his sponsorship of the Senate companion to H.R. 14365, emphasizes that, while the objective of voluntary desegregation may be difficult to achieve, it is well worth striving for. After all, who can argue with the expressed purposes of the School Integration Innovation Act of 1976? For one, it seeks to encourage the development of imaginative, constructive alternatives to reduce the need for mandatory busing and secondly, it strives to help desegregate our schools, while promoting quality education for every child.

Mr. Chairman, these are worthy goals. These are goals based on vision and hope, rather than on complacency or fear. Why can't we look at ourselves and seek the best within? We are long, long overdue at providing the objectives sought by this bill.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, I have in the past been committed to positive, comprehensive action in this area, and you held hearings last December on the National Educational Opportunities Act of 1976, H.R. 10146. I welcome Mr. Seiberling's and Mr. Whalen's approach to this issue, and hope that their effort will spur continued Congressional dialogue on this most urgent problem.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARDSON PREYER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. PREYER. Thank you.

I appreciate that, Mr. Chairman. Since time is short, I would like to leave most of the time to the principal authors of this bill. This com-

mittee has heard from me before on H.R. 14365, and I think the concepts in that bill and in this bill are similar.

I do want to congratulate Mr. Seiberling and Mr. Whalen and Senator Glenn for I think they have evidenced real vision here in seeing through the problems of busing as a means to desegregation to the real issue of desegregation itself.

I think we need to address the underlying problems involved rather than just the emotional issue of busing. We need to get something going in the educational world rather than just hiding behind the skirts of the courts.

Too often we use our energies in pointing to the evils of busing, but we do not offer any alternatives to it. I think this bill offers alternatives. It is a creative, rather than a defensive approach, and I think it would help get local communities involved again in the whole process of desegregating our schools. We will get ideas from them. We will get innovations.

This is how you will achieve equal educational opportunity.

It would reduce the need for busing, rather than just limiting the remedies of the courts, or rather than just railing against busing.

Now, there is not any positive guarantee that any of these methods would work, but I am firmly convinced they will. When people from the localities are brought into the decisionmaking process, instead of just remaining standing sullenly and hostiley as is too often the case, on the outside, when people who are affected the most are voicing their concerns, I think there is real reason for optimism.

The problem in the past is that those who are affected the most have been consulted the least. No one is saying that magnet schools will work everywhere, but the people of Milwaukee are standing strongly behind them.

No one is saying that pairing is a sure proof blueprint for desegregation, but it has worked in some areas, and it can work in still more.

I think the point is this: that each area is unique and people are unique, and let us draw on the uniqueness of the region and of the individual to implement plans which will at last serve to carry out the intentions announced by the Supreme Court over 20 years ago.

I think this bill does seek to encourage the development of imaginative and constructive alternatives to reduce the need for mandatory busing, and second, it strives to help desegregate our schools while promoting quality education for every child.

These are worthy goals, Mr. Chairman, and they are goals based on vision and hope rather than complacency and fear, and I commend these gentlemen for introducing this legislation.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me compliment all of you for very good statements. I think you have come up with constructive suggestions.

I am going to yield to Mrs. Chisholm this morning to start the questions; then I will call on Mr. Mottl, and then I will question.

Go ahead, Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

As I gather from the testimony of all of you gentlemen, these are possibly alternative methods, as we speak about the desegregation of the schools for educational purposes, is that correct?

Mr. SEIBERLING. That is correct.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Second, we have been talking about busing for quite some time, busing for purposes of desegregation or busing for purposes of improving quality education.

Of course, we realize in certain sections of this country we have utilized the artificial instrument of busing, in terms of quality education for youngsters that are hemmed in in the inner city areas, that in many cases they would not have been able to receive good education so that they can function in an innovative and technological society.

Now, having said all of that, I look at one statement that was made by Congressman Seiberling when he indicated that we will have education programs especially designed to improve the quality of education in inner city schools.

That is very key, and that is very important. How does one explain in this country what we are going to do about ongoing situations in which the inner city schools—and it is happening more and more in America—are composed of 95 or 96 percent minority children?

What do we do in terms of these children having the kinds of educational experiences to move and to live with other groups in this Nation, so that eventually the inherent racism that has really been destroying this country can be eradicated?

It would seem to me that, although these are very good alternative methods, and I do not question them; they are very good, that the basic problem lies in the area of something that nobody in this country seems to have the guts to want to move behind, and that is the whole housing situation, the whole housing question.

How do you answer that in relationship to what is going on in our Nation?

Mr. SEIBERLING. Well, Mrs. Chisholm, if the question is directed to me, of course, the housing situation is at the root of this whole problem, and that is a subject that needs to be attacked, and attacked vigorously, and I do not think that this type of legislation, or any education legislation in itself is going to correct that.

The Superintendent of the Akron Public School System recently proposed what is called in Ohio the Akron plan in which he called on the State legislature to allow the State Board of Education to change school districts to incorporate suburban areas in an inner city school district, so that the matter could be handled on a metropolitan area-wide basis. It does seem to me that if that is done and it is also coupled with something like this legislation, you can then create new schools, perhaps on the borderline between the inner cities and the suburbs that can attract people from some of the different types of housing areas and then you will begin to get a handle on this problem.

At the present time, the city of Akron has built a new magnet high school, for example, a central high school, and there are people from all over the city going there, but unfortunately, our suburban residents are not only not eligible, they are being denied the benefits of what I think is the superior quality education that they cannot even get in their suburban schools, and if they were able to go, many of them would.

I am sure it could be worked out that similar courses could be given in the suburban school areas that would attract inner city students.

So while I do not think this is a panacea, I think that this is one way to solve this.

77-171—76——4

Barbara Jordan made a speech in Houston some time ago, and I think she summarized it in her inimitable way very succinctly. I would just like to read one sentence.

She said: "We must adjust all integration tools to bring into focus the subject matter. Magnet schools, pairing, cluster, busing, others."

That really says it all in a nutshell, as far as school education is concerned. The housing problem, as you and I know, must be attacked also.

Chairman PERKINS. I have one question that I would like to address to all of you gentlemen on this panel.

Let us just assume that your proposal was adopted by the Congress. I would like to ask you, do you feel that this could lead to a weakening of the Federal courts in their efforts to stop unconstitutional segregation, or can you conceive of any case where this could interfere with the Federal courts efforts to eliminate unconstitutional segregation?

I would like you to start, Judge Preyer, and go all the way across. That is my only question, and then I will call on Governor Simon next, in the order of seniority.

Mr. PREYER. My answer to that, Mr. Chairman, would be no. I do not see how this restricts the court's ability to prescribe remedies for unconstitutional action of a school district in any way.

In fact, I think it would be of great assistance to the courts. I have long maintained that judges do not order busing just because they enjoy stirring up emotional feelings in a community. They order busing because they have no other alternative.

If they do not order busing, too often nothing is done. But courts, while doing that, do not make good superintendents of education. Courts do not run schools well. It ought to be left to the schools, and they would prefer that the schools not be run by the courts.

So I think a court would welcome this as a means of carrying out what the court really wants done; namely, bringing about equal educational opportunities.

The court's job is basically to prescribe equality of education. Their job is not really to provide quality of education, and a wise court tries to do both, but it is difficult to do.

But I think a bill like this helps bring in the quality, and the courts can still insist on the equality. I do not think this would interfere with the court's ruling at all, and I think it would be of great assistance to the court.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Whalen?

Mr. WHALEN. I would agree with Congressman Preyer, because it seems to me that the court has two distinct functions: the first is a determination whether or not the constitutional rights of individuals have been violated. Second, if such a determination is made, then the court must decide what remedies shall be prescribed.

Now, in no way does this bill prohibit or limit the first action. It does, however, provide a wider range of alternatives in prescribing remedies to constitutional violations.

Chairman PERKINS. Senator Glenn?

Senator GLENN. Mr. Chairman, I look at these as being complimentary programs. It gives the courts more options. It does not eliminate anything; it just gives them a bigger bag of tools to work on the whole problem with.

In my statement, after mentioning the four basic parts or the four basic provisions that we could provide, magnet schools and so on, I state in that, Mr. Chairman, that all of these activities have been talked about politically, but little initiative has been taken to encourage their implementation.

These activities, singularly and in combination, have been ordered by courts as part of desegregation plans. A court is not a legislative body, though, and it cannot authorize and fund these projects. Only the Federal Government can do this on a high priority, nationwide, basis.

That is what we are trying to do.

I look at these as complementary programs. It gives the judges more tools to use, to work on the whole problem.

Chairman PERKINS. Go ahead, Congressman Seiberling.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Certainly, as a lawyer, I would say that there is no way that we can impair the court's ability to enforce the Constitution of the United States by adding additional tools to the court for doing that job.

The point made by Senator Glenn is absolutely right. I do not think any court has yet asserted the power to appropriate money for school construction, and I doubt if they will.

We simply need to provide the tools so that the courts have a wide selection of ways of desegregating its system.

Chairman PERKINS. Governor Simon?

Mr. SIMON. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

I would just say that I think what is suggested here does present a constructive alternative.

I would add one more thing, and that is I think we have been, all of us in political life, too—well, some have been willing to jump on busing for political purposes, but I think otherwise we have not been as defensive of busing as a legitimate tool in the education process as we should.

I come from a relatively small community of 26,000 people where we have busing, and it is working, and it is working well. It is working well in a great many other cities.

I think sometimes when we read the newspapers and watch our TV and listen to radio, we think of busing, you know, as something very, very negative. I think it can be a positive thing, just as I think the proposal that you have is a positive thing.

I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Mottl?

Mr. MOTTL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I certainly want to complement you, Mr. Chairman, for extending the opportunity for Senator Glenn and others to be heard on this bill, as well as the prior bill by Mr. Preyer and Mr. Udall. We have not—those of us who have been in favor of the constitutional amendment for the neighborhood school and also for the quality education for every schoolchild in America, have not had that courtesy extended to us by the Judiciary Committee in the House of Representatives, and even though we may or may not agree with the particular proposal, I think we should, on this important issue of school integration or busing or neighborhood schools, have an opportunity to be heard.

and I want to compliment you for scheduling this hearing this morning, as well as the prior hearing on Mr. Preyer's bill.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to address my questions—I think this is an all-Ohio day, and we welcome Congressman Preyer to our Ohio day here, although this is a national issue, as we all know.

I would like to address my questions to Senator Glenn, and if any of my colleagues would like to answer, or offer any answer, please feel free to join in.

In your particular bill, Senator Glenn, the magnet shool concept, you mention nothing about the cost to the taxpayers of the United States of what this proposal would be.

Do you have any idea as to the minimum or maximum costs of the magnet school concept?

Senator GLENN. In this bill, we provide for $250 million. Now, to take care of the whole problem if we were trying to put in magnet schools all over the country, automatically it would be a far greater amount.

The $250 million would just be a start on this. I believe there are some 123 school districts in the country that are under either HEW or court-ordered busing plans or desegregation plans of one type or another. We feel the proposal in this bill would be particularly advantageous in helping them out. However, we make no claim that the amount called for in this bill would solve the whole problem for the country.

We call for $250 million.

Mr. MOTTL. Well, $250 million is really a drop in the bucket if we are talking about if we can help many school districts around the country, isn't it, Senator?

Senator GLENN. What we call for in this also is a—the whole program is $1 billion, but that is not basically for the four parts of this bill that we are stressing. That is in the whole ESAA extension. But that is not what we are talking about here this morning.

Mr. MOTTL. This would be the initial authorization for the new program, is that correct?

Senator GLENN. This would be a start; $250 million.

Mr. MOTTL. So if this were to be continued, this would cost billions and billions of dollars over the years, is that correct?

Senator GLENN. Well, I think we would look at this as a pilot program. I do not know that they would or would not. We would hope that this could be matched by matching funds in the communities themselves, wanting to solve their own problems. We hope a lot of it will be looked at as seed money, too. So we would get programs started that would be continuing and would not require further Federal funding.

I do not think at this time any of us, certainly I would not be willing to state now that $250 million would be the end. Nor would I be willing to say that there is going to be a necessity for more than that. There might or might not be. We would look at the first experience with this bill to determine that.

Mr. MOTTL. What are the matching funds from the local community or from the States in helping with these magnet schools for the construction or operation?

Senator GLENN. I am sorry?

Mr. MOTTL. What would be the local matching funds with this new Federal program? What would be the cost to the local school district? What would be the cost to the States, because, you know, we have to operate them and we also have to construct them, and would this be totally federally funded?

Senator GLENN. I see that as a flexible amount, because some districts might need more help than others. If there has been a district that has been very recalcitrant, they just have absolutely refused to do anything in this area, and have saved a lot of money by doing that, perhaps you would be less lenient with them than with some very, very poor district who had wanted to do things and had not been able to do it.

So I do not think we are right in setting up any one strict formula. There has to be some judgment applied as to how the funds are to be used.

Mr. MOTTL. So whoever is going to administer this program would have absolute discretion as to what local or State matching funds would be necessary, if any?

Senator GLENN. He would have some discretion in that regard. However, I would hope that he would be working this out with not only HEW, but with State boards of education that want to move in this area, too.

Mr. MOTTL. I notice from your opening statements that all of you would be still in favor of forced busing if necessary in a community. Is that correct, Senator and members of the panel?

Senator GLENN. Well, I do not think anyone favors forced busing. Busing has come as a result of the failure of the communities to act, and so it has been court-ordered in keeping with the Constitution and with Civil Rights Acts and with all of the other things that we are familiar with.

What we are trying to do here is give some additional tools. They are options that the courts can use, and options that communities can avail themselves of, so that the strict channelization into court-ordered busing that we have now, perhaps will no longer be necessary.

We give some other means here instead of a forced situation such as busing, to which you refer, to allow the options of good schools that parents will want to send their children to.

In other words, it is the difference between wanting to get a good education at the end of the line and sending your children to whatever and wherever that school is, which has worked in a number of communities across the country, as opposed to being forced into a busing situation.

This just broadens out the bag of tools that the courts can use——

Mr. MOTTL. But you would not be in favor of eliminating that alternative?

Senator GLENN. Oh, no. This does not eliminate busing. I spell that out very completely in the statement. This is not meant to replace. This is not meant to be put into effect and say now we will eliminate busing. That is absolutely not the intent of this, and I will make that very clear.

I think some people have tended to misconstrue what we are trying to do here in that realm, but that is not the case at all. All we are trying to do is add the options available to judges and to the courts

to carry on this whole desegregation fight by means of giving an excellent education once the kids get there, wherever they come from.

Mr. MOTTL. You know, in the city of Cleveland—I think you are familiar with this, Senator—and maybe other members of the panel, that we have six magnet schools presently, and we have a school district there that I believe in your statement in the Congressional Record that is now 57 percent black and do you and other members of the panel believe that we presently do not spend as much money in the black community as in the white community and that is one of the reasons that they are having so-called inferior education, if they are?

Senator GLENN. Well, I think that is a very blanket statement that I would not necessarily subscribe to. I think it has varied from locality to locality, and it varies from one locality to another in our own State of Ohio, and I think the same thing applies across the country.

I do not think you can make one blanket statement that we do or do not. I think there are some areas where they have moved in and tried to spend more money in the inner cities, in the minority areas, and have done a very good job with that. However, in some school districts they have not moved that forcefully, and I would not want to make a blanket statement like that. We have the superintendent of schools in Cleveland, Dr. Paul Briggs, with us here who will testify shortly and I would suggest you address questions on that school situation in Cleveland to him.

Mr. MOTTL. In Cleveland——

Senator GLENN. He is one of the real pros in the country.

Mr. MOTTL. Yes. He is probably, if not the most outstanding superintendent of schools, he has done a yeoman's job and spent more money per pupil in the black community than we do in the white community in the city of Cleveland; and he has done a great job of trying to integrate the school system even though we have adverse housing patterns there.

Senator GLENN. I am sure he will speak to this himself, but I know he has tried to move in some of these same areas. When we first introduced this bill over on the Senate side, he was concerned enough about it, and I might even say excited enough about it, that he jumped on an airplane and came in here and sat in my office for a couple of hours just to talk about this because he was very much for it and has endorsed this concept very heartily.

I will not purport to speak for him.

Mr. MOTTL. Gentlemen and Senator, are you at all in favor of the neighborhood school concept?

Mr. WHALEN. Let me just address myself to this. I think you raised the question earlier: namely, do we favor busing?

I do not like busing. The reason I do not like busing is I do not like the constitutional violations which have led to busing orders. I think this is basically the issue.

These desegregation programs have come about only after courts have determined that there have been violations of individual constitutional rights. This is the thing that concerns me. Busing certainly is one remedy, and what this bill does, as the cosponsors have indicated, is to provide other alternatives or other remedies, either to supplement, to complement, or to substitute for busing.

Mr. MOTTL. Congressman Whalen, if 83 percent of the American people do not like busing, and I think everybody here so far has answered this question, nobody likes busing, why do we have forced busing, and—you know, we took a poll on channel 5 about the neighborhood school concept, and 84 percent of the people polled by channel 5 stated they were in favor of the neighborhood school concept were in favor of the neighborhood school; 77.5 percent of the black community were in favor of the neighborhood school concept by amending the U.S. Constitution.

So why is everybody saying we should still have this as an alternative?

Mr. WHALEN. Well, I think you would probably concede that 100 percent of all Americans support the Constitution and believe that when it is violated there should be remedies. I think no one would say the Constitution should apply to some Americans, but not to all Americans. Busing is one remedy to constitutional violations.

I say I do not like it. I realize it is unpopular with a vast majority of people, but I think Chief Justice Burger in his 1972 decision made it clear that the cost of this certainly is far outweighed by the cost of permitting continued constitutional violations.

Mr. MOTTL. Well, we all want to follow the law, the Constitution and the laws of our country. We are a country of laws, not of men. But if we have an unpopular law, or if the Constitution is not being interpreted to please the vast majority of our people, do we not amend the Constitution?

How many amendments have we had already when we are not in favor of the present interpretation of the Constitution?

Mr. WHALEN. I am afraid if you amend the Constitution by saying in effect that, in the instance of violations of the 14th amendment there shall not be a remedy this is destructive of the whole constitutional process?

Mr. MOTTL. How is it destructive of the whole constitutional process?

Mr. WHALEN. What we are saying is: "Sure, your constitutional rights have been violated, but we are going to pass another constitutional amendment denying you a remedy."

Mr. MOTTL. You know——

Mr. SEIBERLING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOTTL. Certainly.

Mr. SEIBERLING. You know, the overwhelming majority of the people, according to public opinion polls, also support the goal of a desegregated school system, and as Congressman Preyer pointed out, their opposition to busing and their support of desegregation are not inconsistent. What they are saying to us is that we should come up with other means besides busing for desegregating our school system, and my reading of my constituents is that they do not object to another racial group coming into their school. What they are afraid of is their kids going to a different school that is going to give them an inferior educational experience, and it is our job to see that no matter where any child goes to school, he is going to get a quality education that is second to none, and that is really the issue, in my opinion.

So I think that we ought to get away from these cliches about neighborhood schools, forced busing, and talk about the essence of the prob-

lem, because the cliches tend to cloud our minds as to what we are trying to accomplish. And that is what this bill is trying to do——

Mr. MOTTL. All of us in this room——

Mr. SEIBERLING [continuing]. To accomplish a quality education on an equal basis for every child in the country.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Seiberling, all of us in this room agree that we want a quality education for every American child. None of us dispute that. But what is the route to secure that?

Mr. SEIBERLING. I assume we all also want to uphold the right of every person to equal protection of the laws, do you agree with that?

Mr. MOTTL. Yes, yes, we do.

Mr. SEIBERLING. All right. Well, then, we have got to reconcile those two goals.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Zeferetti?

Mr. ZEFERETTI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You know, there has been an awful lot of political and otherwise rhetoric over this whole issue, and I think maybe this is the first positive program that has ever been offered that might reduce this mandatory type of busing, and I commend you for recommending it.

One question, and it is just a misunderstanding that I have, as to what constitutes the pairing of schools. You mentioned in your testimony, Senator Glenn, the pairing of schools, that type of program.

Senator GLENN. Well, the pairing of schools is—oh, pairing with nearby colleges and universities for enriched courses where you can use an interchange of faculty, for instance. If you are in a vocational school situation where you could use a business expertise, people in the field could come in and help teach courses, and——

Mr. ZEFERETTI. In other words, using the faculty of that particular school as a pair to go into either area?

Senator GLENN. Yes.

In part of the testimony that I will have inserted in the record, here, which we already had permission for, we give some examples of this. They are particularly in the Boston area, both with nearby schools and universities that were used in this way. Also there is quite a list ranging from A through S here on companies and different places that sent their people, their executives, and people at all levels in the business to come in and help teach courses, or give vocational training in these areas.

This has worked very well in those areas, and that is what we referred to in the general term of pairing. It means pairing with somebody nearby that can help out.

Mr. ZEFERETTI. Thank you very much.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me begin by saying that, as you are aware, the House rather overwhelmingly removed a section of the original legislation that would have provided for this kind of a system. I do not necessarily share that opposition, but I am going to ask some questions which, if they sound hostile, I just want you to understand I just think they need to be asked.

First of all, what is education magnetism as defined in the bill?

Mr. SEIBERLING. Is there any particular person you would like to address that to?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I would welcome comments from the sponsors, any of you.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Well, it is a system where special courses would be offered in a particular school, and perhaps other special courses in another school in the same district that are not available in every school, so that students who desire to take a particular course could come from all parts of the district to that particular school, and similarly students from other areas could go to the second school to take their particular courses.

This is a division of effort so as to concentrate the resources of the school on offering unusual courses or courses that are desired by certain groups and not others, and thereby attract people from all over a school district and break up patterns of segregation in that manner.

Am I correctly stating it?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, this would involve, of course, the construction of new facilities which could prove costly. How can you ascertain in advance whether you are going to have an overflow of students, a trickle of students? How would you address that problem?

Senator GLENN. Well, I would say that this does not necessarily require the construction of new schools. In many cases, it is only a realinement of what is taught in existing structures. That is the reason that this is termed the construction and/or operation of magnet schools.

I think probably there would not be that much construction required. It is mainly a matter of helping out in setting up what courses are going to be taught in what area, what specialty, if it is a vocational course of some kind. It is to provide an expertise in one school of this kind as opposed to a higher academic environment in a different school leading people on into the college track, or whatever.

This has been used very effectively in some areas. Boston has used this. Houston has gotten into this. We have a lot of testimony here that will be in the record with regard to the success this has had. It is not just bricks and mortar type stuff, at all. In fact, I think that is a minor part of this, and will not be needed.

There might be some areas where you might have to construct a school in order to get this plan into effect. If so, why, we would provide those moneys.

But mainly, I think it would be a realinement or a restructuring of what is given in existing structures.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, you say there is a track record in some of these cities that this concept will endure after the new wears off, after the first year or so. Would you say that that is the experience of cities where it has been tried?

Senator GLENN. In general, it has been successful. It has not been universally successful, but it has been successful enough that we are certainly warranted in moving on with a broader program than we have had up to now.

There have been a number of areas in the country—I think perhaps Superintendent Briggs might be able to give a lot of examples of this. I know we talked about them when he was in my office, and he is fully

qualified to discuss the successes and failures of these different programs, too.

Mr. WHALEN. May I make one intervention here, Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. WHALEN. Just recently the St. Louis School District came under a consent decree, as I understand it, which involved desegregation strictly through the magnet school approach; no busing was involved. So I think here is certainly one instance where, under court order, there has been a remedy other than busing.

The problem, of course, has been that the funds are lacking to carry out some of these innovative programs. What this measure would do would be to provide, at least in part, some of the funds necessary for such an undertaking.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Do you have any idea how many school districts might be assisted under the bill?

Mr. WHALEN. I think there are about 123 school districts which presently are under some form of desegregation order either by Federal courts or HEW. I guess most of the busing, in fact, all of the busing, has come from court orders, not from HEW.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, one problem—and this is a persistent problem, desegregation—well, first, let me ask you, would you all agree that perhaps our first goal in education ought to be a quality education for every child and quality schools throughout the system? I assume that would be the consensus?

Mr. WHALEN. I think so. As Congressman Preyer has pointed out, however, I think the duty of the court is to insure that there be equality of education. I have read statements issued by Senator Brooke on a number of occasions, and on each of these, he points out that quality of education is a responsibility of the respective boards of education. Certainly that should be our primary objective. But we must make sure that it is equally applied.

Senator GLENN. I might add, subject to the constitutional situation, that so long as we meet that, then the second objective is having a good education for every child.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Well, of course, Senator, you have explained that you do not necessarily mean except where necessary, the construction of new facilities. In my own school system we are trying this magnet school approach in our most recent plan for the Birmingham system, because we came up with something that looked good on paper 6 years ago, but then there were population shifts, housing pattern changes, some private schools formed, some white flight, and the end result was resegregation.

So now there has been a recent court order revising the system, including trying this concept of magnet schools. And I hope it will work.

But one of the problems, it seems whatever you try, you have the problem of individual decisions of American citizens who are free to move or organize private schools or do whatever it is they are going to do, and I am just not sure whether you can be sure what the end result may be. You can construct perhaps an expensive facility that comes out of a limited pot, and then housing patterns may cause your ratios to go completely awry.

I don't know exactly how you would determine, for example, in the choice of a neutral site if it is going to remain neutral more than x months to x years?

Senator GLENN. Well, obviously, Mr. Buchanan, we cannot guarantee what is going to happen in each case, but the experience so far has been excellent, by and large, in most of these programs. I would refer back to the national conference that dealt with this in May in Houston. They went into in-depth experiences in Houston, Boston, St. Louis, and Denver. Gary Hart was going to testify this morning until we changed the time here.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Are those the main ones? Portland.

Senator GLENN. Those are the main ones in which the experience has been very good. Obviously there are going to be situations where once this is put into effect, perhaps there are changing patterns that had nothing to do with the school district, as patterns of living changed within a city.

So we cannot guarantee that this is going to be a panacea. I spell that out in my statement here, but we think it certainly is a big step in the right direction, and will work, in most cases.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOTTL. I would like to point out for the record that the gentleman from Illinois said that busing has worked well in his town of 26,000, and I would just like to bring to the attention of my colleague that major metropolitan areas like Boston, Louisville, Cleveland, Atlanta, are much different from communities of 26,000, where it has not worked.

Mr. SIMON. If I may respond very briefly, I am not suggesting that every community is like Carbondale, Ill., nor that this should be the answer everywhere. I do think that my colleague, Mr. Seiberling, made a point that is important, however, and that is that we try to avoid these cliches—and I think "forced busing" is one; we don't talk about "forced mathematics," or "forced English," or a lot of other things—there are hundreds of communities where there is busing, where it has not been court ordered, where it is working out constructively.

I think that if we avoided some of the cliches, we could quietly and effectively do a lot of things, and busing would not be a negative tool, but a very positive one.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Could I just comment?

One of the results of the concept incorporated in this bill will be a lot of busing, but it will be voluntary busing.

My kids rode the bus 4 miles each way to school for years—it happened to be the nearest school—but people don't object to their kids being bused to school. What they don't like is the fear that they are going to be bused to an inferior school.

That is what is the root of this thing. It is time we tackled that problem.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Chairman——

Senator GLENN. Mr. Chairman, may I make a comment?

Chairman PERKINS. Yes, go ahead.

Senator GLENN. In response to Mr. Mottl's comment a moment ago, I think that some of the experience with this has served to strengthen the neighborhood schools, and not eliminate them. Denver, in partic-

ular, involved the whole community in this, as I understand it from talking with Senator Hart. They really had community meetings and they decided what they wanted. The people were very involved with this, and they found at the end of the whole process they had not only set up good magnet schools where the parents wanted to send their kids to—some of them—but they also had, by this same process helped to strengthen their neighborhood schools, and their community schools.

Mr. MOTTL. Anything that is voluntary would be fine with me, Senator. If people want to voluntarily send their kids across the city, that is beautiful. But anything that is imposed beyond their own volition, I object to strenuously.

Chairman PERKINS. Mrs. Chisholm?

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Chairman, maybe I can be a mediator.

Mr. Simon made reference to the fact that busing has worked very, very well in some communities, and then Mr. Mottl came back and said something else. I think it is important to recognize, I think the whole issue has to do with the question of moral leadership andcommitment.

First of all, let's not use the word "busing" since it conjures a lot of emotionalism in people's head. Let's use the word "transportation," because if you use the word transportation we would realize that thousands of American children are being transported at this moment for purposes other than desegregation, so busing or transportation is not an issue. This has been going on ad infinitum, ever since the inception of this Republic.

So let's get away from busing, and maybe perhaps we had better start using the word "transportation."

Then, the concept of the neighborhood school. Of course, the neighborhood school basically is the school where most children should attend and where most people, if you took a poll, would say they wanted their children to go to the neighborhood school, for one reason, if for no other reason, and that is from the standpoint of their health and their welfare in a community, a community that is knowledgeable to them.

But the fact of the matter is, even right now in America, in the Southwestern part of this country, many, many Chicano children are not going to the neighborhood schools that some of us are saying we must have. They are still being transported right past those neighborhood schools in the Southwestern part of the country, and for years in this country we did not hear the voices of people crying out when black youngsters were being transported out of the neighborhood schools.

Where were the voices then? The hypocrisy comes back to haunt every one of us.

The fact of the matter is that the alternatives that the gentlemen are offering this morning are very good alternatives so that we can move in other directions, other than this term "busing," which conjures all kinds of things in people's heads. But we must remember that basically it is because we have denied certain people their rights in this Nation in terms of these neighborhood schools, in terms of the opportunity for equality of education that we now find ourselves trying to find all kinds of alternatives, and I think we must not forget that. I think that is very important for this record to show this morning, because we sit here, we talk about busing, but busing for whom?

We talk about neighorhood schools, but neighorhood schools for whom?

Let's go back over the history and see what has happened to many, many children in this country where nobody spoke out for them when these things were going on in a very, very negative fashion.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Chairman, to answer my learned colleague from New York, if you do not like the term "busing," in my community of Parma, which is the largest suburb in the greater Cleveland area, we have had more busing there than any other community in the State of Ohio.

If you want to use the term "transportation," then "forced transportation." That is what the majority of people object to, is forced transportation, not voluntary transportation or voluntary busing, whatever term you want to use.

I know there are many wrongs that have happened in this country and we all want to act constructively to right those wrongs, but we are not going to penalize the vast majority of people that want to send—white or black; it is not a race issue—white or black, want to send their children to the neighborhood school.

So why should people be penalized today for what was going on wrong years ago with the Chicanos or with the blacks or with anyone else?

If it is going on today, then I am with you. Then let's see that those Chicanos go to the neighborhood school. That is where they should go, like every American citizen.

Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Stokes, are you here to testify?

Mr. STOKES. No; I am here to introduce Dr. Briggs, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Any further comments that you gentlemen wish to make?

Senator GLENN. I only have one, Mr. Chairman. I think sometimes we overestimate the amount of busing that is going on as a whole because of all the talk in the paper and the emotionalism surrounding it. We are looking into some of the energy figures concerning this and it was brought up on the Senate floor how much energy we would save if we did not require busing for desegregation purposes. It was found that under 2 percent of the busing in the country is actually done for desegregation purposes. It is a fairly small amount compared to the total amount of transportation if we want to refer to it in those terms.

Mr. MOTTL. Well, that has been one of the most divisive issues, Senator, in the country and we want to live in harmony, and I think race relations have come a long way in this country and we want to foster better relations, and we do not want the community in Cleveland or Boston or Louisville to be blown apart by it, because I think we have made great strides under the guidance of Dr. Briggs here, we have gone a long way——

Senator GLENN. I think the basic purpose of this—I would hope that Congressman Mottl would get behind and really support this, because the basic purpose of this is to set up an educational system where parents want to send their children to that school because of the magnet——

Mr. MOTTL. Anything that is voluntary, I will support. The only trouble I have, Senator, is the cost. What is the cost on this?

Senator GLENN. I am glad to welcome your support on this, then, because that is exactly what this bill does. It tries to set up a situation where we have such educational opportunity at the end of the line, that parents want to send their children there. It gives an option to get away with what you are talking about exactly.

Mr. MOTTL. If it is voluntary, I am for it, but the cost still is the important ingredient.

Can this money be better spent for quality education if we term it for better schoolteachers, better textbooks, better facilities? This is the point, the judgment we have to make here.

Senator GLENN. That is provided in this, as one of the provisions of this bill. We provide for that upgrading of that educational situation in existing schools.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I just have one more little question or observation. As H. L. Mencken, I think it was, once said, "For every difficult and complex problem which our society faces, there is a simple solution, and it is wrong."

I really care more about what might work than anything else, personally, and yet I want to raise just a little question as to quality versus equality. I do not see how one can violate the Constitution by providing a quality school for every child and having that as the first goal of education. Until you do that, it seems to me that somebody's rights are getting violated by that person getting sent to some inferior school, but as you try to figure out how you provide equality, you run into such problems as this.

Certain jurisdictions within my congressional district have voted upon themselves extra taxes—the city of Birmingham, for example—in order to provide better quality schools for the children within that system.

How do you deal with the problem of those individuals or communities who have made special sacrifices in order to try to provide something special over and against a leveling of all schools at the same level?

Now, maybe you do not mean that when you say equality over quality, but I wonder if there might not be some conflict of equities involved in saying that it shall not be possible for a community or a city or an individual to take actions which might provide some special educational opportunities for the children involved.

Maybe I do not understand the testimony on that point.

Mr. WHALEN. Well, I think what we are saying here, what the courts are saying, is that in those communities that have made this special effort, all of the students within that community shall share in the fruits of those efforts equally. In the cases where the courts have made a judgment, that there has not been equal application, then, of course, this is where orders have been promulgated in an effort to insure equal education.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Well, so long as you do not go beyond school districts and——

Mr. WHALEN. Well, this of course is one of the big issues facing the court. At least up until this moment, Federal courts have indicated

that desegregation orders go beyond the school district only in those instances where an adjoining district has been adjudged to have violated the Constitution.

Senator GLENN. Might I comment on that?

I think the Congressman is getting into an area here that is very, very basic to our whole educational system that is quite apart from anything that we are trying to cope with here. When we talk about what one school district is able to supply for itself as opposed to another, we are into one of the areas of biggest inequity in this whole country, and we have not even begun to address it yet in education.

You go back to my home State of Ohio, the richest school district in the State has a tax base per pupil of $265,000 per pupil, and they raise $3,000 with no sweat at all, no strain.

You go down to a poor area down in southern Ohio, and you have a tax base per pupil of $3,045 in the poorest school district in the State. They cannot get enough to keep the school doors open, even with all the equalizing funds that come in from the State and the little 6.5 percent that comes in from the Federal Government.

So when we are talking about the differences in education between what different school districts can provide for themselves, we are into the biggest area of inequity in this whole country. Until we get away from the old, antiquated property tax as the basis for most of our educational systems, we are never going to solve that problem. We are sure not going to solve that problem with this bill we are proposing here.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Could I just make one comment?

If I may make a quote to follow up on the H. L. Mencken quote, Winston Churchill said, "My tastes are simple: I want only the best."

I think that as a parent I want only the best for my children, and I think every other parent wants that. And I think we have an obligation, representing the whole United States, to see that our children everywhere get the best in terms of education, and that is really what the basic issue is, in my view.

Chairman PERKINS. Any further comment? Mr. Whalen?

Mr. WHALEN. I am just sorry I do not have an appropriate comment from Mark Fidrick that I might introduce at this point.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, my only intent was to point out that you do have some conflict of equities and it is not as simple as it may seem, because on the one hand I could hope we could start with a base of quality education for every child, and on the other, there is something to many Americans essentially right about rewarding achievement and having the opportunity to use the rewards of achievement to better the opportunities for one's children.

Chairman PERKINS. Judge Preyer, do you have anything else to say?

Mr. PREYER. No, Mr. Chairman. I think Ohio has looked after itself pretty well here today. I will leave it there.

I will just say that Mr. Buchanan's difficult problems, there certainly are not any easy answers, and we cannot help the change in neighborhood patterns, and so forth, which might upset the best-laid plans. But I think a court, looking at a situation like that, will give great credit to a community if it is really trying, in good faith, to do something about it, and will be much more moderate in its application of remedies where you have a community that is really trying.

even though factors beyond their control keep it from working out perfectly every time.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me compliment the entire panel for your testimony. You have brought a problem before this committee that has always been a difficult task for us to try to wrestle with, and we will continue to wrestle with this problem.

I want to thank all of you for your sincerity in trying to solve the difficult problem that confronts the country. You deserve the commendation, not only of this committee, but of the entire Congress and the people that you represent for bringing in an alternative remedy here, and let me thank all of you.

Senator GLENN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for your courtesy in holding these hearings this morning and, in addition to the unanimous consent request before for the additional material I brought in for the statements by Senators Humphrey, Kennedy, and Hart, I would also like to ask unanimous consent that the record be held open for a period of 1 week to receive testimony from Prof. William Exum, a black professor at Williams College, in Williamstown, Mass.

Chairman PERKINS. Without objection, all the statements that you have with you from the gentlemen the Senator has named will be inserted in the record, and the record will remain open.

Thank you very much.

Come around, Mr. Mitchell.

We are delighted to welcome Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this morning, and go ahead, Clarence.

Without objection, your prepared statement will be inserted in the record.

[Prepared statement of Clarence Mitchell follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CLARENCE MITCHELL, DIRECTOR OF THE WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Mr. Chairman and members of the House Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, thank you for your invitation to testify at this hearing on H.R. 14365, the School Integration Innovation Act of 1976. I do not have long testimony because it is the view of our organization that most proposals which would impinge on court decisions requiring transportation of pupils cannot be considered in a proper and objective manner at this time.

It is well known that the issue of pupil transportation has been injected into various political campaigns, including the campaign for the presidency of the United States. This is extremely unfortunate and has led to a rather perilous situation for enforcement of court decisions. At this time, there is some indication that the vituperation aimed at the Federal courts by those who wish to nullify the constitutional rights of black children has caused some judges to make unwholesome utterances from the bench about their impatience with considering civil rights cases of any kind.

So far as the proposal before the committee is concerned, we have been considering its general thrust since it was first suggested by Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio). While we do not question Senator Glenn's motives, it is deeply disturbing to see some of the references to pupil transportation that seem to downgrade the use of transportation as a remedy.

We wish to make it clear that we do not now nor do we expect at any future time to believe that pupil transportation to assure the enjoyment of their constitutional rights is, per se, less desirable than some other remedy. We hold to the view that in the second *Brown* decision of the Supreme Court there was no

hint or inference that transportation as a remedy was any less desirable than the others included in that decision.

We also want to assure this subcommittee and the members of Congress, the Nation as a whole and especially the White House and the United States Department of Justice that we are mindful of the Supreme Court's confidence in the ability of U.S. district court judges to reach equitable decisions.

We are indignantly weary of seeing the Congress use the great legislation intended to improve education and educational opportunities as vehicles for petty and unconscionable amendments to thwart the high purposes of the civil rights legislation now on the statute books. We are equally distressed that the House has passed such contemptible expressions of pettifoggery in the Esch and Eshleman amendments. In many views, it would be far better not to have any legislation than to have it contaminated by such racist and sexist additions.

It may well be that when the national elections are over and we return to a more constructive frame of mind as a nation, we can consider how we will use all of the suggestions of the 1955 decision in the second *Brown* case.

Accordingly, we ask that this subcommittee take no action on this bill at this time.

STATEMENT OF CLARENCE MITCHELL, DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Mr. MITCHELL. I thank you, and I will summarize it.

Before Glenn goes, I just would like to say this: I am happy to say in the presence of this committee and the whole assemblage here that I have had the distinction of serving with him and with Congressman Buchanan in the international forum of the United Nations in defense of our Nation, and I am pleased to say we spoke and thought as one up there, so I want the American people to know that this is not a confrontation of personal hostility, nor a dispute about the ultimate idealistic objectives of this country in which I am sure all three of us believe.

It is a recognition of the realities of this world and this time that we, as NAACP asks, that this be shelved and not considered, that it be postponed until a time when some modicum of sanity can return to this Nation.

You have had here, Mr. Chairman, a beautiful illustration of people trying to invent reasons of why you have to pass legislation to do what they have willfully, maliciously, destructively, and obstructively refused to do in the years that we have had the Supreme Court decision.

It so happens that you, as the great proponent of education in this country, have given to this Nation and you continue to give, all of the money, all of the resources, all of the ideas that would have enabled us to implement the Supreme Court decision when it was first handed down in 1954 and 1955.

It is almost as if you were building the Taj Mahal, and after you get it all built as a marvelous piece of architecture that is one of the wonders of the world, somebody comes in and says, let's put some picture windows in it, and let's air condition it, and let's put some sanitary plumbing in it and that sort of stuff, all because they want to think of gimmicks which would give them a way out of what they ought to have done a long time ago, and you have had here this morning, Mr. Chairman, the illustration of the pandemonium, the confu-

sion and the subtle appeals to racism that will come on the floor of the Congress of the United States the minute this bill gets there.

I say to you respectfully, Mr. Mottl, that I do not believe, and I cannot go inside of your head and know what you are thinking, but knowing what you have said up in Cleveland about the efforts of our organization to desegregate those schools and listening to you insist on using the term "forced busing," listening to you bring up the concept of neighborhood schools, I will say to you, Mr. Chairman, that this is precisely the kind of rhetoric that we have had to fight all through the years, not only with respect to the race question, but with respect to Catholicism—there is a wonderful story about one of the Members of the U.S. Senate who got on the floor and said I don't have anything against Irish Catholics; I am just against Roman Catholics, and that was designed to keep Al Smith from being elected President of the United States.

Then we had the situation when Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin came down here and made the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States the equivalent of profanity. Anybody who got up and said he believed in the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was thought to be a Communist, crypto-Communists, all that kind of stuff.

Then there was the period when we were embarked on the matters of trying to desegregate hotels, restaurants and that sort of thing and people said, well, what you are interested in social equality. Nobody ever defined what they meant by social equality, but they knew that when they used that term, this would be the thing that aroused the basest emotions, and I submit to you, sir, that whether you know it or not, when you have said what you have said here, it will surface again in the city of Cleveland as a comfort to those who for racist reasons want to obstruct the court case that we have in the city trying to promote equality of education.

I want to remind this committee—I ought not to have to do it, and I am sure I do not have to do it for some—I want to remind this committee that when the Supreme Court of the United States handed down the second *Brown* decision in 1955, it said this—and I am just going to read this sentence—

> In correcting discrimination, the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, the personnel revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a non-racial basis and the revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems. The courts will also consider the adequacy of any plans the defendants may propose to meet these problems and to effectuate transition to a racially nondiscriminatory school system.
>
> During this period of transition, the courts will retain jurisdiction of these cases.

As a lawyer, I say to you, Mr. Chairman, I do not know of any equity court that is respectable that would not retain jurisdiction until there is a final resolution of the problem that has been brought to that court's attention.

But what is the racist inflammatory way of describing this ancient and honored principle of equity? The racist, inflammatory way of describing it is to say that the school boards are acting as—the courts are acting as school superintendents and they do not have any knowl-

edge of how to run a school system. The courts are acting as courts, to see that the people who are before them do what is necessary to implement those court decisions, and I submit to you, sir, and ladies and gentlemen of this committee that those who call the role of the courts in this manner as being superintendents are engaging in what you might call subliminal kinds of appeals to racism.

You know, that is a form of advertising where you look at something and you do not realize that you have been brainwashed before this thing gets to you. I do not know how they do it, but as I understood it, it is so-called subliminal. Without actually saying what they intend to do, they convince you that what they are saying is right.

Well, that is what is happening here. Anybody who has any sense and knowledge of the English language can know when the Supreme Court said that the courts would retain jurisdiction, all they were trying to do was see that justice was done.

But how do those who want to obstruct bring this into the picture? They say, well, the reason the courts have this is that they want to play schoolmaster.

Then they get around to the *Swann* case, which is the monumental case in this area of pupil transportation. I am like Mrs. Chisholm. I believe that it is more respectable to say "transportation," but you can see what happens when you try to get rid of this web of racism that we are emmeshed in.

It reminds me of the words of Fitzgerald who said:

> Oh, thou, who didst with pitfall and with gin, beset the path that my feet were to wander in, thou wilt not, with predestined evil, emmesh me roundabout and then impute my fall to sin.

Well, what have they done? They have emmeshed us around and about with segregated communities like the kind that Mr. Mottl represents. They have emmeshed us around about with super highways so we are locked into ghettos, and then they impute to our efforts to get out a program of what is so-called "forced busing," and no matter what you call it, somebody is going to find a way to use that to our detriment, and I would just like to say, I do not know of any respectable school system in this country that does not have compulsory school attendance.

Now, are we to say that is wrong, and un-American or something of the sort to have compulsory school attendance? Are we going to call it forced school attendance?

And I might say, with respect to the figures on the matter of busing, in the *Charlotte-Mecklenberg* case, the Supreme Court said this, which many people seem to forget; "Bus transportation has been an integral part of the public education system for years and was perhaps the single most important factor in the transition from the one-room schoolhouse to the consolidated school. Eighteen million children of this Nation, approximately 39 percent, were transported to their schools by bus in 1969 and 1970 in all parts of the country and I submit, Mr. Chairman, that that figure is higher now because some of those whites who are supposed to have fled to the cities are using buses to take their children to segregated schools and there is a tremendous fight, as most of us know, and I agree with the merits of those who are advocating it, to make use of public money for the transportation of children who go to parochial schools.

So I would say that we have to bite the bullet and face the fact that in this campaign here, there are tremendous forces that are creating a mortal storm of emotion in this Nation on this issue of transportation.

Sure, it is not a big thing, but the President of the United States has made it a big thing by sending a counterfeit bill over here which is supposed to be a remedy against transportation. The Attorney General of the United States has, in my opinion, violated the spirit, if not the letter, of his oath of office by saying it is possible to do constitutionally what the President has proposed when he, as a lawyer, should know that it is not constitutionally possible, and he has been so advised, not only by eminent lawyers, but by people on his own staff.

And it is incredible to hear, as one has heard, that great Georgian from the State of Georgia who is a candidate for President of the United States, make statements—I did not hear him actually say it, but apparently from the interpretation, he has given the impression that he and President Ford have about the same kind of position on the question of transportation, that is keep the neighborhood school concept, don't let the black kids into these nice neighborhoods.

Then tailing along with them is Mr. Reagan, who may have thought of it first, out there using the same thing.

Echoing him, and in a carbon copy kind of way, is my good friend, Senator Dick Schweiker of Pennsylvania whom I heard on this morning's radio bragging about how he was 40 percent lower on some kind of a rating than Senator Mondale.

I have never heard about anybody bragging about being lower on the scale of marking than anybody else.

Well, this is the incredible, fantastic, ridiculous position that we are in in this country, and I say to you, in all sincerity, Mr. Chairman, I can see no way, even with the very best of intentions that these people have, I can see no way that this thing would not result in a donnybrook if it comes to the floor of the House of Representatives and may, if it is brought to the floor of the Senate, bring a kind of exchange over there, but nevertheless, one that is divisive to the country.

I want to say also, Mr. Chairman, that I am not impressed, and I do not believe most of the black people of this country are impressed, by the fact that the sponsors of these proposal have been able to get some very respectable names on the thing, like those petitions that you sign up on 42nd and 5th Avenue in New York, where you get a long piece of paper, and a pretty girl comes up to you and says, would you sign to free the children in the concentration camps?

And you sign and they get 50,000 signatures and then you find you have signed something to drop the atom bomb on the African nations, or something, so that I do not think that the people who have proposed this are people of ill will. I think they may be trying to do something. But I do say they have awful timing, they are very misguided, and in closing, Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I hope we can make this country the kind of country that we will not have to have hearings of this sort.

It seems to me the best way to do it is to make sure what you have brought to the Nation in the way of education aid is spent fairly, and used fairly, for all the children.

I know, Mr. Chairman, what you think, personally. Now, you have on this committee a distinguished, outstanding black citizen who the people of her district have elected to the Congress of the United States. They have shown by that action that they do not want any discrimination against women.

You, as chairman, by your action in having on your staff that distinguished lady sitting beside you, Mrs. Dargen, show that you do not want any discrimination against women. And in all of my relationships with you through the years, I know that you do not want any discrimination based on race.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me ask you one question, Mr. Mitchell.

Do you feel that the proposal that has been brought before the committee this morning, if adopted, at the present time—or at any time—would weaken the efforts of the Federal courts to go ahead with their desegregation where unconstitutional segregation exists today?

Mr. MITCHELL. I have no doubt about it, that it would weaken, because already, and we who go into the courts seeking vindication of constitutional rights have evidence of the fact that the district courts, at least, are being intimidated by the rhetoric which is emanating from this Congress.

I sat in a courtroom the other day where I heard the judge in a case in which I was participating as counsel make the most destructive requisites to evidence and things that had to do with implementation of civil rights, that even were so contemptible that the case went on until 8:30 in the evening and they cut off the air-conditioning at 5:30, so there we were in a windowless, airtight courtroom trying to seek vindication of civil rights.

There is not any question in my mind that starting with the U.S. Supreme Court and most especially in the courts at the lower level, this is the kind of thing—and this, per se, is the kind of thing—that would weaken those courageous—well, maybe not so courageous, but willing to try to do what is right judges—who have been going against the tide in this situation.

We told the President of the United States when we met with him the other day, that in every case where we have started off in the north, we have had cautious conservatives who were unwilling, as judges, to face up to some of these issues, but when they got the facts before them they then did what they knew the law required.

I would say if we passed this kind of legislation which pretends that there is something horrendous about transportation, which pretends that what they have done up-to-date is wrong, which pretends that there is a great drive in the country now to provide equality, I think it will cut the ground from under the judges of courage and put us right back where we are going to get a lot of nitpicking in decisions.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Hawkins?

Mr. HAWKINS. I have no questions.

Chairman PERKINS. Mrs. Chisholm, any questions?

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I have no questions.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Mottl?

Mr. MOTTL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You know, I am certainly tired of——

Chairman PERKINS. Excuse me. I passed over Governor Simon.

Mr. SIMON. I have no questions. Go ahead, Mr. Mottl.

Mr. MOTTL (continuing). That every time that we disagree with your organization that we are called a racist or a bigot. I think it is totally uncalled for, because I think reasonable people can disagree on different plans without being called any names, and I think your organization has caused this disruptive issue to be so predominant in this country of ours, especially in the communities of Boston and Louisville, and the people of Greater Cleveland, now, are having a great anxiety over the potential results of the lawsuit in the city of Cleveland, brought by your organization and I think that your leadership with your organization have not represented the vast majority of black people in this country on this issue.

I alluded to, before a poll in the Cleveland area taken by channel 5—and there is nothing to lead me to believe that it was not accurate—that 77.5 percent of the black community favor the neighborhood school.

Now, I would like to have your answer to this, if I may, Mr. Mitchell. The Milwaukee school desegregation plan, I believe, was approved on July 7 of 1976 and they have basically the school magnet program.

Does your group that you represent disagree with the judge on that issue? Are they going to appeal that, or does that go into effect with your approval?

Mr. MITCHELL. I would say that—I am not the person who is handling that case. The way we would proceed in it would be to look to the four corners of the 1954–55 decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court and all of the decisions that have flowed from those two, and then, on the basis of that perusal, make a decision on whether this was something which was a constitutional remedy, keeping in mind, as I have said earlier, that the Supreme Court has indicated that a magnet school or any other kind of a good-faith approach can be used.

And let me also, while I am talking, thank you for the compliment that you have just paid our organization. Yes, yes, emphatically yes, we have carried this issue to the courts of our country, because we believe that when the Constitution of the United States says that we are entitled to equal treatment, if we don't get it, we have to fight for it. And you can thank God that we have not done as is being done in South Africa, armed ourselves and gone out to fight in the streets.

We have made use of the legal process of this country, and what we resent, what I resent, is the implication that when you use this process and when you win the fight, that somehow this is disruptive and disorderly.

Let me say, with respect to polls and whether we represent the people of this United States, I will say to you, we have close to three-quarters of a million members—maybe more, some who have not paid their dues, and I would say that we may not represent all the blacks in the United States, but we represent more of them than anybody else does on issues of this kind.

We would submit that whatever might have been generated by that poll, which may have been unscientific, for all I know, has no way of interfering with what our constitutional rights written into this great document that we call the Constitution of the United States.

So we are not troubled by the statement that we are stirring up difficulty by pressing for what are our established constitutional rights.

Mr. MOTTL. Well, do I have the same right, then, to pursue the con-

stitutional amendment for the neighborhood school without being called a racist or a bigot?

Mr. MITCHELL. You have the same right——

Mr. MOTTL. Rather than arming myself, and going out into the streets?

Mr. MITCHELL. And I have the same rights under the first amendment to make whatever observations I want to make about why I think you are doing it, and I would say that if you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen, as the great President of the United States said.

When we get into these exchanges as you and I are now having we both have to have asbestos skins. I have one, and I will say to you that you have to face up to the truth.

I might as well tell you how people feel, because that is the only way that we can reach solutions in this country.

I could come in here and be nice and pusilanimous and say to you, well, Congressman, I know you have a constitutional right to say what you want to, but I say to you that I know the key words of racism at the age of 65. I have been hearing them most of my life.

And I will say to you, when you talk about "forced busing," when you talk about neighborhood school concepts, no matter what you may mean, you may be as pure as Jesus Christ in what you say, but the fact of life is that, when the mob hears that, they think that is the signal to go out and burn up the buses and to throw stones at the black children.

That is what has happened as a result of this kind of rhetoric.

Mr. MOTTL. Well, you have your right to your opinions, but I think that you are doing yourself and your organization a disservice when somebody firmly believes in the concept of the neighborhood school that you call that person a racist. I believe as strongly about the neighborhood school concept as you do about your beliefs. For me now to call you a racist or a bigot or somebody pandering to prejudice, I think I would be doing you a disservice.

Mr. MITCHELL. Oh, you could not possibly hurt me by anything you said about me, Mr. Congressman, and let me say this to you. I did not want to bring this up, but I am very familiar with the city of Cleveland, and I know that 30 years ago—no, 40 years ago, I was offered a job in the city of Cleveland to run the Cleveland Urban League by some well-meaning citizens, and I explored that community very carefully.

I thought there was a tremendous amount of good will and a great number of problems. Now, I don't know whether you are old enough to remember this, but there was a black man who was running a movement up there to get jobs for blacks in neighborhoods where white people had stores but wouldn't hire blacks, and everybody called them Communists, they had the same kind of resistance to what he was doing as there is now to school desegregation.

And I also know that the housing segregation in Cleveland, most especially in your district, is engineered by an unholy alliance between the Federal Government, prestigious State people, the real estate interests, and it would be impossible, unless you changed a lot that is in your district, to ever say that when you talk about neighborhood schools you mean integrated schools, because, in the first place, the blacks are not going to be able to live in there without a whole lot of effort.

Mr. MOTTL. You know, Cleveland is a great town, and it is much maligned, and I think that Paul Briggs has done a great job under the circumstances there, and I just hope that this great town of ours stays in a very peaceful manner and I hope and work and pray—and I am sure you do also—that——

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, I must say I think I have been told by our counsel that efforts are being made outside of the court to try to keep the peace, and, if everybody joins in them instead of talking about you have to keep the neighborhood schools segregated instead of, we have to stop forced busing, I think that, if everybody joined in trying to reach a peaceful and honorable solution under the superintendent's leadership, we are not going to have any trouble.

Chairman PERKINS. Well, let me interrupt by saying that I am not one to cut anybody off, but, from here on out, we will apply the 5-minute rule and then we can—I will stay here with you and come back between quorums so nobody will be cut short.

Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Mitchell, I think you are clearly the senior statesman of the civil rights movement in the United States at this point in history, something without which this country could never have had the hope of becoming itself fulfilled, in my judgment.

I wonder what your basic outlook is. You have mentioned some of the problems and some of the things that concern you, and I am aware that not only in education, but in open housing and equal employment opportunities, it is quite obvious we have a long way to go in this country.

What is your basic outlook at this point in history and what could you say briefly are the things that you feel we need to do to get from where we are to where we need to be?

Mr. MITCHELL. I at first had boundless optimism about the future of this country, and your presence in the Congress of the United States and the presence of Congressman Hawkins and Mrs. Chisholm and other people like you coming from different parts of this Nation, are the reassurances, because it might not have been possible a few years ago that somebody like you could get elected—and this is no reflection on anyone; it is a fact of life.

I feel that, when we get away from the speaker's podium during the election period, the men and women of good will and the great leaders, like the chairman of this committee, will address themselves to the fundamental problems of this Nation, and they will find that there are legions of people who will be ready to move behind that banner to make us one Nation and to insure that we have equal treatment for all of our citizens.

But I do not think we can get it by just chewing the rag. I think we have got to work and fight in a constitutional way to achieve it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. I want to say that Mrs. Chisholm and Mr. Zeferetti are both seeking recognition. Since I first went by, I will recognize Mrs. Chisholm and then Mr. Zeferetti.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you very much.

I think it is important to recognize that reference to the polls that even in sections of New York City you would find that many, many

black persons, if you take a poll, would say, "I prefer the neighborhood school." Period.

The polls would indicate that, because, as I said earlier, basically people want their children to go to neighborhood schools for personal safety, if for no other reason.

It is interesting, however, after talking to many of these people, the polls always pose the question in a vacuum: Do you prefer neighborhood schools? Answer yes or no.

There is no elaboration or explanation as to what that means. If the poll indicated, do you prefer neighborhood schools which are not able to give to your child the same quality of scientific classes, extra library courses or whatever, you would find a different answer.

So you cannot rely on polls per se—as politicians are finding out. It depends on what is put into the question, and so many persons hide behind these polls in order to justify a feeling they believe is coming from the community.

I can give you polls over New York where many black folks would say, sure, I prefer neighborhood schools, but they were asked only: Do you prefer neighborhood schools. If you get some of these people after and question them with respect to these polls, you find they did not go into the issue in any detail.

So we must not be misled, because we can make polls do what they want to do, and I think that is very, very important to understand.

One of the reasons also for many blacks' saying they would prefer neighborhood schools, which is something that has never been brought out publicly here, as I can remember, is this: For the first time in this Nation, in many large cities and States across this Nation, community people are having a certain amount of control over their community schools by the process of decentralization and community school control, and what have you. And so people feel, in many instances, since the system has never been able to incorporate them in the decisions and the policies, that they will relate to the fact that the community school board helps me to do so, without realizing until maybe a year and a half later, that they do not really have any control on the local level, because he who pays the piper calls the tune. They don't have the moneys that go into the local school systems.

They are only in a position to give some suggestions and ideas. And so, today, you find many people who have been very, very interested in community school control, and what have you, are beginning to say, my goodness, we have been duped once again, because we really do not have the control in terms of money. So whatever we must do, we must be sure that people understand, because the masses out there, black and white, are very sophisticated about a lot of things in the way polls present questions when they desire certain answers.

Mr. MITCHELL. May I just respond to that by saying that I had the good fortune in graduate school to be trained in assembly of statistics and determination of public opinion. This is why I have very little faith in polls.

I have faith in the Constitution of the United States. At the beginning of this Nation, there was a great controversy about whether the Supreme Court had the last word on what the Constitution meant.

We settled that some almost 200 years ago, and in the opinion, we

established for all time, the fact that when the Constitution grants a right, the Supreme Court is the ultimate determinant of whether that right is being enjoyed.

I would say that in this situation the Supreme Court has again and again laid down the principles, and I think we would be in an awful condition if in this Nation every time somebody brought up a first amendment question that we would have to have a poll to find out whether they should enjoy that right.

We would be in an even worse situation if everytime somebody brought up a question of separation of church and state we had to submit that to a poll.

So I would say that I personally, and I think most of the people who think about this, am unmoved, and they are unmoved, by statements about polls for two reasons.

First, we do not know whether those polls are scientifically valid, and second, they undertake to challenge the sacred right of citizens that has been won under the constitutional process.

Our theory in this Nation is that justice, justice, though the heavens fall. And I would say that one way to keep the heavens from falling is for people to start recognizing that the Supreme Court has spoken and that we are going to comply with the Constitution as it has been interpreted.

Now, the thing to do is to try to implement the decisions, not to discredit them.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Zeferetti?

Mr. ZEFERETTI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Mitchell, I hope we are not losing sight of the fact that what we are interested in is the young people of our country and the type of education they are going to receive. You know, when all is said and done——

Mr. MITCHELL. Since I have seven grandchildren, I could not lose sight of it.

Mr. ZEFERETTI. Well, when all is said and done, I think, you know, that is that the goal we want to achieve is to give everybody a decent education, and I think, too, that when a piece of legislation is offered that might reduce the tensions and the emotions involved in this issue, I think it has to be looked at in a realistic way, and not just something, a breach of civil rights or something against something, but rather on a positive nature, and I think it has to be digested and understood and given a fair chance.

I think the fair chance comes with these types of hearings. I think by your testimony and the testimonies of the distinguished gentlemen who came here this morning, I think that is the way to do it properly. I do not think by just getting up and saying I am against something, because I think the end result is going to be disastrous or could create emotions in one direction that could create violence, is going to help.

I think we have gone beyond that. I hope that we can build a bridge that goes beyond that. That we can look at an educational alternative and say, maybe this is the right course. Maybe this is the instrument that can lead toward better things for our young people, and I think that until we examine this type of legislation and all aspects of it, and not make it a political football and not make it something that

candidates for the Presidency might use, or the President himself. I think only then can we guarantee that our young people will be taken care of.

Mr. MITCHELL. I could not agree with you more. That is why I say that this is not the time to consider it.

I do not quarrel with the intentions—or at least the spoken intentions—of those who are offering this. I do worry about what I believe you said and some others have said that they have never met anybody who would think busing is a good remedy, which is, again, a part of the rhetoric of those who do not want to do anything but are ideologically in the liberal camp.

I had a candidate for the Senate in a great State who said, Well, I had a meeting of a lot of blacks, and nobody there was in favor of busing. Well, I said, I should have been there, because I am in favor of it, if it is a proper constitutional remedy, and we could not go into the courts of this country if we did not have parents who believe in it.

What people like me are tired of—and I would like to think that I am speaking for a great many—is the kind of situation where we break our backs and empty our pocket books, mortgage our homes, jeopardize our children to vindicate our rights in an orderly way, and then somebody says, well, maybe there must be a better way.

Because I can only believe that to mean that somehow or other, those who say it are thinking about the white children, and not all of the children. I am thinking about all of the children.

We live in a world that is only one-third white. It may be even less than that. And we are absolutely unrealistic if we think we can build little racial enclaves in this country and keep the white children isolated from the world as it really is. We are making a horrible mistake if we believe we can put the black children in a ghetto and lock them in with free-ways and housing restrictions and say we are not going to have explosions.

It seems to me—sure, I want to work this out in an orderly way, but if you will remember every instance when the Congress on the floor has considered this issue, hysteria has ranged supreme. Logic has flown out of the window, and I have been amazed at some of the statements that people whom I love and respect, and with whom I have worked, have made on the floor of the Congress of the United States.

How, otherwise, could you account for the fact that there were passed the Esbleman amendments which between them would do this: they would take away from existing law the language which says that where transportation is required by the Constitution of the United States, it has to be respected. That is deliberately taken out.

How else can you account for the fact where there has been a wholesale assault on the efforts to give women an opportunity for equality under the law? I can only account for it by the prevailing hysteria, and I think it is associated with the election, and that is why I am here pleading with the Congress not to further contribute by throwing this in as another means of provocations.

Mr. ZEFERETTI. Do you feel that there isn't any merit in this whatsoever?

Mr. MITCHELL. I did not say that. I said that I think it is worthy of study. I do not question the spoken motives of those, because I can

only go on what they say. I do not question the spoken motives, but I say that to bring it up now in this atmosphere of Eshleman, Carter, Ford, Schweiker, Reagan, and Lord knows who else—Wallace looks a little more saintly when you compare him with the things that are going on today. He is kind of a conservative, compared to some of that radicalism.

But in any event, I would say, if it has merit—and I am not conceding that it does not have merit—I say if it has merit, we ought to consider it in an orderly way, when we will not be swayed by people who will use it as a political football.

Chairman PERKINS. Any further questions?

Mr. Hawkins? Any of you down at that end?

Mr. HAWKINS. I have one question.

Mr. Mitchell, what is your impression of a neutral site school? What is a neutral site? Has that been defined by the authors of this bill?

I just do not understand the concept of what is a neutral neighborhood, a neutral school, a neutral site school, and so forth.

Have you any impression as to what that really means?

Mr. MITCHELL. I would say it is the impossible dream. And the reason—I think Congressman Buchanan pointed it out. He said, let's assume you take today what is considered a racially neutral site, and that would be a site where you have whites, blacks, living—at least having access to it. Then you build the school. Along comes an enterprising real estate operator who says that these blacks are moving into this neighborhood. We want to sell you another house in another place that we are developing, the whites move out and the neighborhood becomes all black.

Or maybe some enterprising black real estate operator would go in and tell the blacks to move to some other location, and then you have an all-white neighborhood.

I do not think it is physically possible to have a foolproof neutral site. I would say that it is a good thing for people to try, but if you are going to see the futility of neutral sites, look at Montgomery County which adjoins Washington. When I first came to Washington, that was white territory. It so happens that my people come from there too, and they were there first, but people bought up their land and put them out.

But be that as it may, it was white territory, and it was unthinkable that there would ever be a time that there would be a dispute about whether there were racial concentrations in what were called integrated schools, and that is one of the points of controversy now caused by population movements.

So I do not see how you could have a racially neutral school.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you for your viewpoints, and you are always welcome.

Mr. MITCHELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Our next witness is Dr. Paul Briggs, superintendent of schools, Cleveland Public Schools, and I understand that Congressman Stokes is here too. We welcome you here, Congressman Stokes and Dr. Briggs, and you can proceed to introduce Dr. Briggs, Congressman Stokes.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee.

Mr. Chairman, it is, as always for me, a great pleasure to return to this great committee of the Congress where I served during my first term in the Congress. You are indeed one of the great chairmen in this Congress and I enjoyed tremendously my time spent on this committee under your chairmanship.

Chairman PERKINS. Well, we hated to see you leave.

Mr. STOKES. It is also comforting to know that the zest and spirit which always pervaded this committee still is as prominent as ever.

Chairman PERKINS. Well, that is always natural where you have controversial subject matter.

Mr. STOKES. As Mr. Hawkins can say, sort of a noncontroversial issue.

Mr. Chairman, over the past 8 years since my tenure in the Congress, I have had the pleasure, on many occasions, to present to this committee Dr. Paul Briggs, superintendent of schools in the city of Cleveland. I say present because Dr. Briggs is well-known to this committee and has testified here on many, many occasions.

We are very proud of Dr. Briggs in the city of Cleveland. He is recognized as being one of the outstanding educators in this Nation.

This committee has called upon him on many occasions to give this committee and the Congress the benefit of his knowledge in the field of education with respect to much of the legislation that has been passed by this committee and ultimately passed by the U.S. Congress.

So I always take a great deal of pride in being here with him and his able assistant, Mr. Peter Carlin, and once again, Dr. Briggs, it is a pleasure to welcome you here to the Congress and before this great committee of the Congress and Mr. Chairman, I appreciate so much this opportunity you have afforded me to appear.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Mottl, do you care to say anything at this time?

Mr. MOTTL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to join with my distinguished colleague from Cleveland in welcoming Dr. Briggs and Peter Carlin before this distinguished committee.

I know Dr. Briggs to be the oldest in tenure of the major metropolitan school districts of the United States and he has done an outstanding job in the Cleveland school district. We are all very proud of him, and I think you share with me, Mr. Chairman, the great esteem that we have for this great educator and I just wanted to join with Mr. Stokes in welcoming him here this morning.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me say to Dr. Briggs that we are delighted to have you here this morning. I notice we have a quorum call on, and if all the members of this committee will just go over and answer and come right back, we will just be back within 5 minutes. We will recess for 5 minutes.

[A brief recess was taken.]

Chairman PERKINS. The committee will come to order.

Without objection, the prepared statement of Dr. Briggs will be inserted in the record, and you may proceed in any manner that you prefer.

[Prepared statement of Dr. Paul Briggs follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PAUL W. BRIGGS, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, CLEVELAND, OHIO

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, it is a distinct pleasure to have this opportunity to share my concerns relative to programs dealing with racial isolation. My remarks are based upon my experiences of twelve years as superintendent of the Cleveland Public Schools. My presentation will outline educational programs that are integrated to provide the best educational experiences in an urban setting.

The Cleveland Public School System is committed to helping pupils, staff, and parents increase their understanding and acceptance of the multi-cultural nature of America, and to grow in their respect for persons who are ethnically, racially, and economically different from themselves. This commitment, implemented in all areas of the school system's operation, has involved staff assignment procedures which ensure integration; development and selection of instructional materials which avoid racial, ethnic, and sex stereotypes; and enforcement of equal employment standards which have resulted in maintaining a 30-percent minority rate among tradesmen on all school construction.

This commitment is further reflected in the operation of a wide range of programs enrolling students from all parts of the city and from surrounding suburbs. The array of educational options responds to the diverse needs of pupils. These "magnet schools" or "magnet programs" are unique and cannot be duplicated in neighborhood schools due to high program costs and the scarcity of qualified staff in specialized areas. In addition to a broad spectrum of technical-vocational programs in the regular comprehensive high schools, Cleveland provides two of the nation's finest vocational high schools—Max S. Hayes and Jane Addams. These schools offer an intensive curriculum of technical-vocational courses, often one-of-a-kind. Offerings at Max S. Hayes Vocational High School include such unique courses as architectural drawing, heavy duty truck repair, computer repair, pattern-making, and cooperative printing which provide course credits and work-related training. Students at Jane Addams Vocational High School may choose courses in fashion trades, cooperative home economics, commercial foods, cosmetology, and medical or legal secretarial skills. Licensed Practical Nursing and the Dental Assistant Program are offered as post-graduate courses. There are virtually no dropouts and all the graduates are placed on jobs, often several months before graduation.

The combined enrollment of these two vocational high schools include students from twenty-seven Cleveland junior high schools and from twenty-one non-public schools. Of the 1,800 students currently enrolled in the two schools, 60 percent are minority group members. This proportion closely parallels the minority group ratio of 61 percent for the 1975–76 enrollment of the Cleveland Public Schools.

Cleveland's newest vocational site is the recently opened Aviation High School. The 58,000 square feet facility, located at Burke Lakefront Airport, will prepare students to meet Federal Aviation Administration requirements and qualify for employment opportunities in the aviation and aerospace industry. Current offerings include an Aircraft Line Service and Maintenance Technician Program, and Aircraft Structural Repair Technical Program, and a Parts Distribution and Warehousing Program. Additional programs now being developed will include Air Frame and Power Plant Mechanics, Air Traffic Control, Avionics (aviation navigation-radio), Ramp Operation, Ticket Sales, Airline Dispatching, Food Service, Freight and Cargo Handling, and Flight Training. It is anticipated that the Aviation High School will serve a racially balanced enrollment of approximately 400 students.

The Maritime Service Program, initiated in 1972, equips students to meet the needs of the Lake Carriers Association and other important water-associated industries and agencies. The former U.S.C.G. Woodbine serves as a floating laboratory in which students may acquire and apply skills in such areas as diesel engine, machine shop, electronics, electricity, and pollution control.

Cleveland's centrally located Supplementary Educational Center with a Space Theater is a unique and exciting education innovation, providing organized activities daily (for both public and non-public school pupils) in regularly scheduled programs of art, heritage, music, and science. Activities include experiences in

multi-media theater, photography, sound-communication, music, dance, heritage, geography, ceramics, flight, and space.

Enrichment classes on Saturdays and during the summer enable children to expand interest and aptitudes in the creative and performing arts. The Supplementary Educational Center is the catalyst for Cleveland Public School programs to improve the quality of education; create a positive social environment in which children of different racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds can work together productively; and provide a practical workshop to test new instructional techniques and equipment.

The Supplementary Educational Center's initial funding (in 1966) was provided by Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. In 1969, Federal support for the Center expired and the Center has since been financed by local funds and grants. During the next few months, the Center will transfer its operations into a new and dramatic facility, complete with the first school-supervised Space Theater in the world. We expect to serve between 1,200–1,500 children each day in the new Supplementary Educational Center.

In addition to those innovative efforts which have received Federal fund impetus, specialized programs described below are locally supported.

The Urban School Program, a centrally located alternative program, meets the needs of students whose optional learning progress requires a greater degree of individualized instruction than can be provided in a regular high school. This alternative learning model combines an organization which encourages informal interaction between students and staff; activities which give all the students an opportunity to utilize, develop, and display their talents and skills; courses which put a focus on the relationship between content, class activities, and the student's future; and a policy which permits and encourages students to get career and job related experiences for school credit.

The program, currently serving approximately 120 students from throughout the city, is supported by local funds.

Two Cleveland Public Schools—Sunbeam School for Crippled Children and Alexander G. Bell School for the Deaf, provide diagnostic, instructional, and therapeutic services for children who are blind, partially seeing, deaf, hard-of-hearing, and crippled. The students are drawn from all areas of the city, as well as from approximately twenty-two suburbs.

An Enrichment Program, initiated during the past school year, is a cooperative venture involving a public high school (John Hay), a nonpublic high school (Cathedral Latin), and a university (Case Western Reserve). The current year's program will serve a racially-balanced total of approximately 220 students. The program, focusing on enrichment activities in English and history, will enable the students to interact with each other and with the university staff, and to use the rich cultural and educational resources of the museums and institutions of the University Circle area . . . Museum of Art, Museum of Natural History, Art Institute, Music School Settlement House, Severance Hall (home of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra), Western Reserve Historical Society, Crawford Auto-Aviation Museum. The two high schools and the university are located within the University Circle area.

For the fourth successive year, the Cleveland Public Schools will serve as the coordinating agent for the Close-Up Program in the greater Cleveland area. The program enables public and non-public high school students to participate in student-teacher government study in Washington, D.C. An estimated 500 pupils from 75 greater Cleveland high schools will participate in three one-week seminars. Financial support has been provided by the Congressionally-appropriated Close-Up Foundation, by grants from local business and philanthropic organizations, and by individual and school fund-raising efforts.

Our experience with these alternative programs confirms that specialized, high-quality educational opportunities attract pupils from all backgrounds. This natural attraction results in multi-ethnic groups of students. Integration thus occurs naturally and avoids the resentment and "white flight" that appear to characterize "forced integration" methods.

CHART I

Cleveland public schools, integrated citywide magnet schools, 1975–76

	Daily enrollment
Vocational schools:	
Aviation High School (projected enrollment 400)	100
Daytime adult high school	1,480
Jane Addams Vocational High School	859
School of practical nursing	142
School of dental technology	31
Max S. Hayes Vocational High School	772
Apprenticeship training (building trades)	983
Cleveland Technician School	85
Schools for handicapped children:	
A. G. Bell School for the Deaf	174
Anthony Wayne School for the Blind	30
Sunbeam School for Crippled Children	256

CHART II

Cleveland public schools, integrated citywide special program centers, 1975–76

	Daily enrollment
Supplementary Educational Center:	
Regular school day program (projected enrollment 1200)	500
Saturday enrichment program	803
Summer enrichment program	887
Washington Park Horticulture Center (projected enrollmen 250)	163
Woodland Job Center:	
Job training program	497
Work-study program	509
Manpower Training Center:	
Regular school day program	238
Urban program (street academy)	122
Diagnostic Reading Center	594

Cleveland public schools, integrated cooperative education, 1975–76

	Daily enrollment
School-supervised on the job training	3,778
Others:	
Citywide integrated activities:	
Enrichment program—John Hay High School, Cathegral Latin High School, Case Western Reserve University	220
Citywide band, orchestra, chorus, student councils, camping, student exchange, and shared experience activities	-----

The operation of specialized programs is a productive but costly undertaking. Shrinking local revenue, coupled with expanding costs of doing business, place severe restructions on program development within the urban school system. Without the impetus of federal funds, many of our currently operating specialized programs would have been seriously weakened or even precluded.

We must continue to develop new programs, especially those which deal with comparative ethnic cultures within the framework of literature, foreign languages, home economics, art, and music. Such programs should develop instructional materials which emphasize the contributions of ethnic groups to local cultural, political, and economic growth.

We should encourage the development of Ethnic Heritage centers—centers where groups of pupils, teachers, parents, professors of higher education, and members of ethnic, racial, and religious organizations can come together to obtain information and to explore the rich culture of songs, dances, art work and crafts, foods, clothing, and language of all ethnic groups.

Our cultural heritage is more than just diversity of ethnic groups. It consists, too, of feminist groups, of religious groups, and of labor organizations, among others. By giving emphasis to cultural studies, we can encourage our citizens to develop knowledge and appreciation for those elements of their ethnic past which have contributed so greatly to the cultural present and which will continue to be necessary for the development of our nation's future.

We can also encourage ethnic and cultural pride within a system of neighborhood schools. Such a system would provide a quality basic education for all

children in their own schools without the necessity of leaving their own neighborhood. At the same time, we feel that it is the responsibility of the schools to help widen the horizons of children; to bring children from differing ethnic and cultural backgrounds together in special centers where they can work together, learn together, and grow together. The neighborhood school, then, can be viewed as a focal point, or hub, from which students with a sound academic foundation can progress to center schools which will provide the balanced programs required by society today.

I can see the time is close at hand when all children will begin their academic careers in neighborhood schools—schools located within easy walking distance for every pupil, and teaching only the basic educational skills required of every citizen, the 3-R's, if you prefer.

The pupils would then move from their basic skills centers—the neighborhood school—to special programs at what I call a Center for Special Studies. The Center would react to the needs, interests, and abilities of the pupils and will provide a continuous pattern of unique experiences which pupils cannot obtain in their neighborhood schools.

The Center for Special Studies could be a common meeting ground for all school districts in the greater Cleveland area, and programs offered at the Center would be open to all pupils in greater Cleveland schools. The Center would also provide opportunities for joint appointments of local school personnel and university professors to conduct various prgrams.

For pupils in neighborhood schools who have learning difficulties, I can foresee the institution of Basic Skills Diagnostic and Development Centers accessible to schools throughout a system. As a diagnostic service and skill development facility focusing on the basic skills of reading, language, and mathematics, each Center would emphasize individualized programming for students. It is anticipated that school children in Grades 4, 5, and 6 could be provided with individualized assistance or instructional alternatives to move toward mastery of basic skills.

Other examples would be the development of a center for highly technical and costly computer-assisted instruction which cannot be developed in a single school for a few pupils, and the development of a program of studies in Chinese and Russian language and culture at a city-wide center or magnet school.

A Center for the Performing Arts, encouraging the effective use of sense perceptions and contemporary media, such as audio visual, dance, and instrumental music as vehicles of communication, could provide integrated educational experiences not generally available in regular school offerings. A Center for Developing Skills in Selected Physical Educational Activities could be established as a magnet school or magnet program. Students would be able to engage in a variety of physical educational activities to stimulate and strengthen individual skills, interests, and aptitudes in areas of human movement such as fencing, gymnastics, swimming, and creative dance, not generally a part of regular school offerings.

Other centers could also be developed. These would respond to the many legitimate needs identified by the pupils, local business and industry, and the community. For example, urban environmental problems, so close to everyone of us, logically suggests the development of local Environmental Studies Centers. The thrust of such efforts would be to bring students from varied backgrounds and cultures together for inresidence experiences at a neutral environmental site.

During their experiences at the Environmental Studies Center, pupils would be involved in investigating inter-relationships of man, society, and natural environment, with the express purpose of improving these inter-relationships for mankind. The program would feature an inter-disciplinary approach employing concepts selected from ecology, energy, economics, human and natural resources, pollution, land-use planning, and conservation, and would make available a much wider range of unique learning experiences than could be provided in present regular school programs.

Technical-vocational programs must be constantly reviewed. The changing nature of commerce and industry require continuous up-grading of employee entry-level skills. Schools must be able to provide training in newly required skills if students are to look with confidence upon their ability to contribute to their future well-being as well as to that of their Nation.

A variety of technical and vocational programs is also necessary and should reflect both the types of jobs which are available as well as those which will be available in the near future. If required, post-graduate courses can be implemented to increase the skills level of every worker needing such advanced training.

The goal of every school system should be to keep open two exit doors from our high schools—one marked "college" and the other marked "job." The path toward each door must be well marked with viable alternative routes and special opportunities. The opportunities must be supportive of an academic program that is strong, diverse, and reflective of community needs.

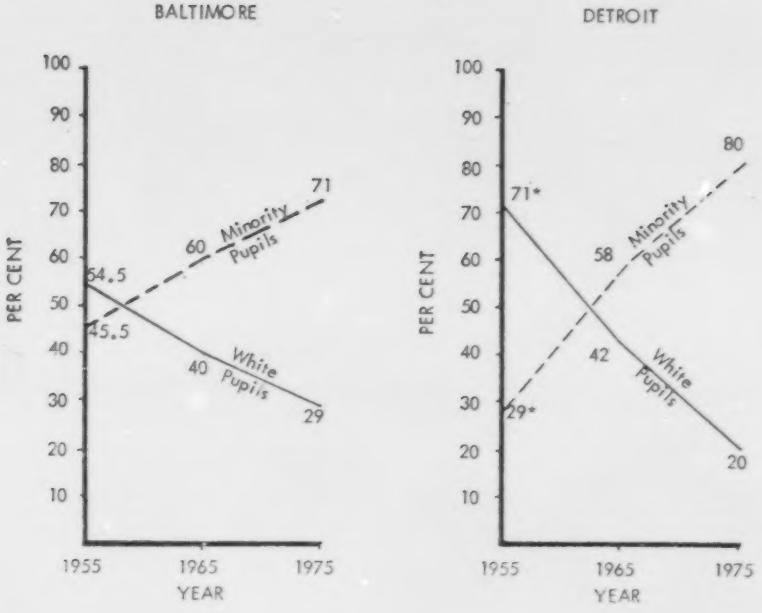
Integrating pupils in quality programs will bring about human understandings and the development of human potentials. Other methods are available, to be sure. But, if we are going to attack perhaps the one thing that has done more to segregate our cities, then we would attack massive busing that has resulted in massive white flight and a segregated school system. Experiences with busing as a means to achieve integration have gotten just the reverse—they have been counterproductive. As a superintendent, I have to be pragmatic. I have to be for the things that work best for our children. I'm optimistic about the long haul if we can avoid the pitfalls of going down the counterproductive route.

CHART IV

SCHOOL ETHNICITY

SELECTED CITIES

1955 - 1975



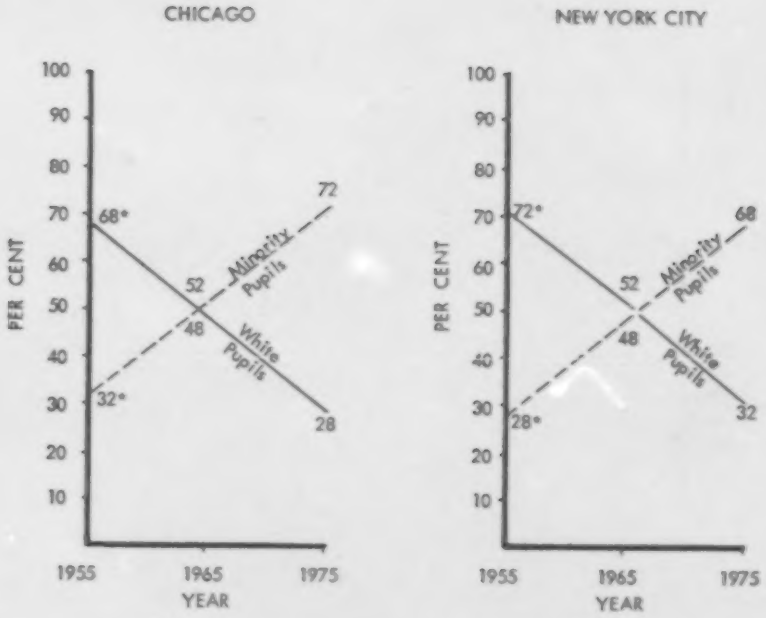
* Estimated

82

Source: Irving Anker, Chancellor, New York City Public Schools
Spring Conference of The Council of The Great City Schools, May 20, 1976

CHART V

SCHOOL ETHNICITY
SELECTED CITIES
1955 - 1975

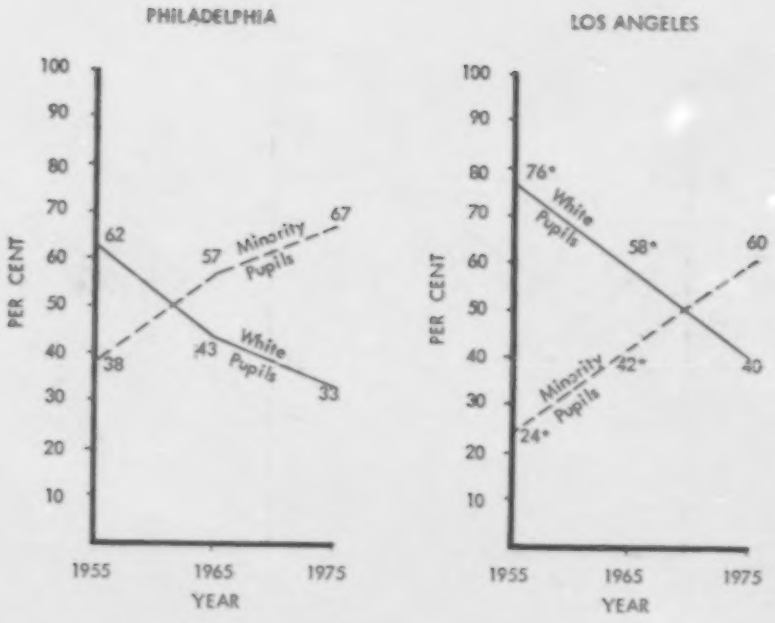


* Estimated

Source: Irving Anker, Chancellor, New York City Public Schools
Spring Conference of The Council of The Great City Schools, May 20, 1976

CHART VI

SCHOOL ETHNICITY
SELECTED CITIES
1955 - 1975



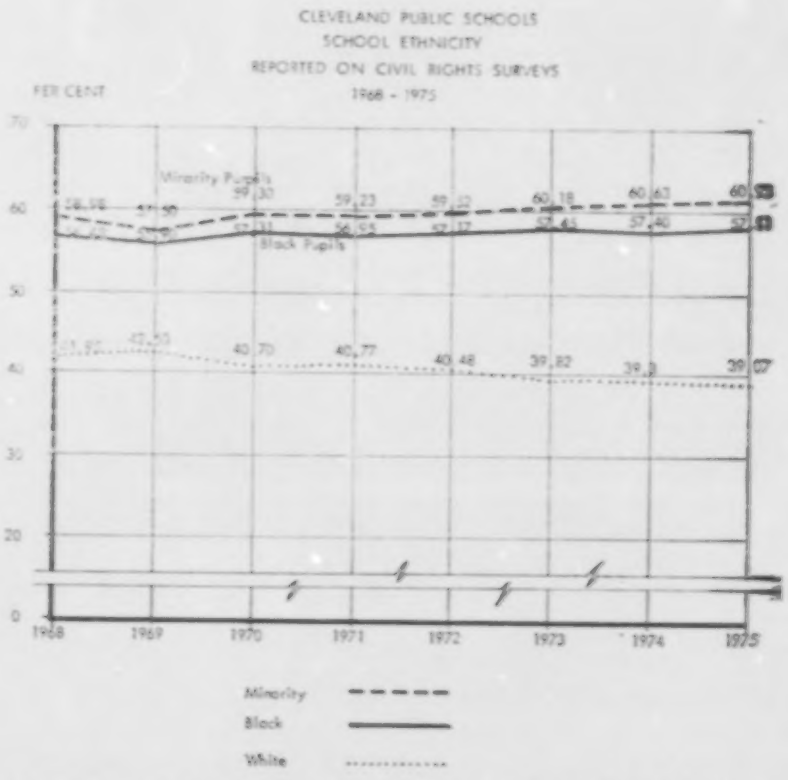
* Estimated

Source: Irving Anker, Chancellor, New York City Public Schools
Spring Conference of The Council of The Great City Schools, May 20, 1976

In school systems where the percentage of minority pupils greatly exceeds the percentage of white pupils, it is difficult, if not impossible, to integrate the pupil population. For example, the percentage of white pupils in Baltimore has decreased from 54.5 percent in 1955 to 29 percent in 1975. During the same time, the percentage of minority pupils has increased from 45.5 percent to 81 percent. Statistics on Detroit's school population indicate that the percentage of white pupils has decreased approximately from 71 percent in 1955 to 20 percent in 1975. During the same time, the percentage of minority pupils has increased from approximately 29 percent to 80 percent. The percentage of white pupils in Chicago has decreased from approximately 68 percent in 1955 to 28 percent in

1975. During the same period, the percentage of minority pupils has increased from 32 percent to 72 percent. A similar pattern of decrease in the percentage of white pupils and the increase in the percentage of minority pupils is found in New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles. In New York City in 1955, white pupils represented approximately 72 percent of the pupils and in 1975 represented only 32 percent of the pupils. During the same period, the percentage of minority pupils increased from 28 percent to 68 percent. The percentage of white pupils in Philadelphia has decreased from 62 percent in 1955 to 33 percent in 1975. At the same time, the percentage of minority pupils has increased from 38 percent to 67 percent. In Los Angeles, the percentage of white pupils has decreased from approximately 76 percent in 1955 to 40 percent in 1975. During the same period, the percentage of minority pupils has increased from 24 percent to 60 percent.

CHART VII



In Cleveland, we hope to maintain the stability of the black and non-black pupil ratio. Although black pupils continue to represent the majority (57 percent) of the Cleveland school system's student body, the percentage of black pupils has remained stable over the past five years.

This stabilization, together with the increasing concentration of low-income residents, is evidence that the outward movement involves the higher income levels among both black and non-black residents.

We feel that this stability would be greatly endangered if Cleveland would be forced to suffer the negative effects of busing pupils for integration. Data for several school systems in which busing has been initiated document the negative impact on the racial balance of the student population.

Since November, 1974, when busing began in Boston, it has been reported the white pupils have been moving to suburban or parochial schools, in large numbers. The percentage of black students has increased from 29 per cent to a reported 48 per cent at the present time.

Since massive busing was ordered in Memphis, Tennessee, the per cent of black enrollment has increased from 51 per cent to 69 per cent. At the same time, the school system has lost approximately 40,000 white students in the past four years. This 18 per cent increase in black enrollment is largely attributable to white youngsters enrolling in private church schools.

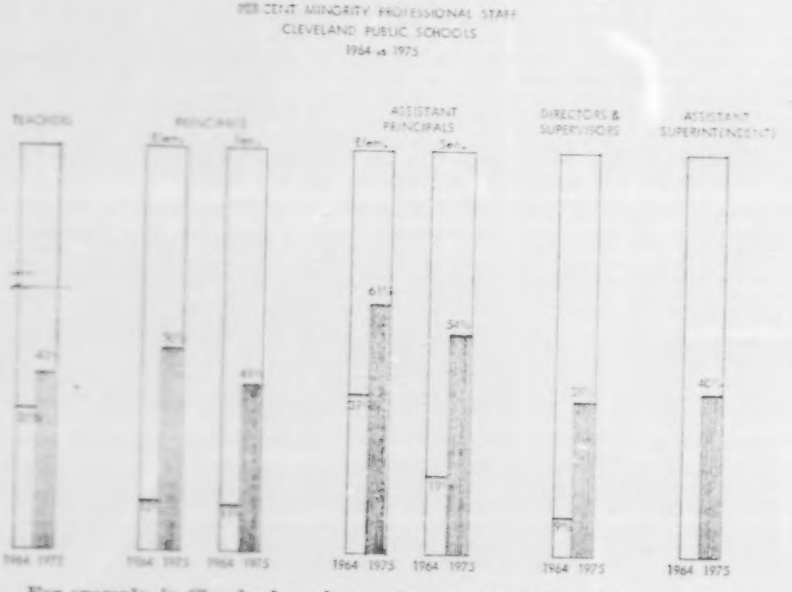
In Atlanta, Georgia, from the early 1960's when the public school enrollment was 70 per cent white, the school system has become over 80 per cent black.

The trend is clear that large-city school systems which have attempted to achieve racial balance by busing are becoming increasingly non-white. The correlation between busing orders and abrupt declines in non-black enrollment is dramatic. To provide quality integrated education, alternative methods must be sought to maintain the stability of black and non-black pupil enrollments.

It must be noted that the greater the black percentage of the school system's population, the more extensive must be the methods used to accomplish integration. Only school systems with small percentages of black pupils might find it easier to integrate by strategic site selection or the enlargement of attendance areas.

Statistics prove that court integation methods are being countermanded by the white flight from the urban school systems. If we are to solve the problem of racial isolation in the cities, we must find methods that are not counter-productive. School systems must take the initiative to integrate instead of avoiding the situation or waiting for court orders. There are certain "do-ables" that school systems can accomplish without external pressures.

CHART VIII



For example, in Cleveland, we have taken the initiative to integrate teaching, supervisory, administrative, and non-certificated staff. Undoubtedly, these efforts to integrate staff have been a powerful force in stabilizing the black and non-black enrollment. Today, two of Cleveland's five Assistant Superintendents are black. In 1964, less than 10 percent of the central office staff of the Cleveland

Public Schools was non-white. This per cent was increased to 37 per cent by 1975. During the same period (1964-1975), the per cent of non-white principals has risen from 12 per cent to 45 per cent. The per cent of non-white assistant principals has increased from 25 per cent to 57 per cent. The efforts of the Cleveland Public Schools to integrate all levels of staffing have been unique in the Cleveland area and possibly in the nation.

In addition to the integration of staff and integration of curriculum materials, school systems must be viable and respond effectively to the demands of a pluralistic urban setting. We must make every effort to persevere in the development and support of alternative programs. Specialized, high-quality alternatives attract students of diverse backgrounds because students see such alternatives as offering a "better way" to meet individual needs. Student integration thus emerges in a natural and educational productive manner as a consequence of creative program options.

The efforts of today's schools must demonstrate a commitment to quality education; to a strong, free public school system; and to a change in relationship to the needs of our society and our nation.

We must choose to provide a long list of viable alternatives for our pupils in order to respond to the long list of needs created by an urban setting. We must be cautious and carefully choose those academic changes and innovations worthy of development.

We must commit ourselves to helping pupils, staff, and parents increase their understandings and conceptions of the multi-cultural nature of America. This must become part of the educational process now and in the future.

We must commit ourselves to helping pupils, staff, and parents to grow in respect for persons who are ethnically, racially, and economically different from themselves. This must become part of the educational process now and in the future.

We must commit ourselves to developing and implementing a diverse array of educational options for pupils from all backgrounds. This must become part of the educational process now and in the future.

The future of education, whether in rural, suburban, or urban school settings depends on a sometimes courageous view toward change. Changes are difficult to make; they wrest us from our complacent and restive states. But change is possible; cast in the setting of the 1970's, change is necessary.

The last half of the 1970's presents us with our own golden option: the opportunity to reassess the functions of education; to contribute to a new, more realistic picture of what schooling can contribute to our American way of life; and to respond in a positive fashion with productive changes that will lead to a better, a more secure future for our pupils and for our Nation.

Education is changing—and changing rapidly for the better. This is no time for us to drag our feet. This is no time for us to be complacent with our successes of the first half of the 1970's.

We have come too far to believe that one simplistic solution will work universally. No one solution exists. Those who tell us that there is a panacea only delay decisions that must be made.

The road to true independence is quality education for everyone. We must set goals—attainable goals—so that we may achieve our main goal of independence via quality education for all.

We must assure pre-school and kindergarten experiences for every child in America.

We must assure friendly, modern, and properly equipped facilities for every child in America.

We must assure opportunities for college and university training for every qualified child in America.

We must assure the highest quality technical-vocational education for every child in America.

We must assure jobs upon graduation from high school, when desired, for every child in America.

We must develop an alliance of the business and education communities throughout America.

We must develop cooperation and communication between parents and the school systems of America.

We must, as educators, assume the responsibility to be leaders in integration of staff at all levels of school in America.

It is time today for school districts to make new, vigorous, and positive efforts to develop sound, productive partnerships with federal and state governments. We must continue to move boldly and courageously forward.

For school systems to remain viable and to respond effectively to the needs created by an urban setting, it will be necessary for the federal government to:

Provide categorical funds to serve the needs of urban children;

Support alternative approaches to achieve integregation of staff and of pupils; and

Insure that legislative intent is reflected in guidelines, regulations, and program implementations.

Working together, we can solve the problems of urban areas and provide quality education for every child.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Commitee, for this opportunity to present information about the Cleveland Public Schools as it relates to integration and racial balance.

I have the greatest respect for this Committee and its outstanding good work in the field of education. It is always a pleasant task to meet with you, and to share with you our experiences in Cleveland.

STATEMENT OF DR. PAUL BRIGGS, SUPERINTENDENT, CLEVELAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Dr. BRIGGS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to say again how pleased I am to have had the introduction from our distinguished Congressman who has been here so many times to present me to this committee, and Lou Stokes is one of Cleveland's great citizens, and has worked almost daily with us as we have tried to bring better education to Cleveland.

The testimony I have I will not read, I will not review. You have it, and you can read it.

I think that I will just summarize a little bit by following somewhat the line of questions and the issues that have been raised this morning. I certainly would hope that this legislation is not considered as something that is an alternative to anything that the courts are doing. I do not even see that issue involved here. But I do see here the fact that I think there is a growing feeling in this country that we may only bring improvement to the cities as we find new approaches, and I don't think of any single approach, but many approaches.

In the city of Cleveland for 12 years now, we have been attempting to find and identify things that cannot be done in the neighborhood schools that should be done in centers, and I think when we are talking about magnet schools, we are not talking about just a good school. Because there is something inherently wrong if we feel that a magnet school is just another good school.

Because if we know how to run a good school in one place, we had better do it everyplace. There is something wrong if we know how to teach good algebra and do not teach it every time we teach algebra.

But there are some rather unique things that can be done, that can be citywide, that can be metropolitan, and that cannot be replicated, and I think that my interpretation, when we go the root of magnet programs and magnet schools, this is what we are talking about.

Now one of the side effects of it is that we can pretty much guarantee integration. You can pretty much guarantee to that extent some desegregation. But it should not be presented as the plan.

Cleveland, today, has a whole series of magnet programs. We have paid for them totally by ourselves. This is the only major city in the United States where over a period of a decade by the vote of the people

we have raised our taxes by 137 percent to do the thing that we are talking about this morning, and I have just a few little charts—I think I will present them very rapidly to this committee—that kind of shows this.

This chart 1 shows, for example, the magnet programs in vocational education. The top item there is an aviation high school. The projected enrollment is 400 and we opened its last year with 100 students.

You talked about neutral territory, well, the only place to put an aviation high school is in the airport. That is pretty neutral.

Placement of students? There is no question about it. We could place probably two or three times as many students as we will ever produce out of that school that was designed for 100, but we have held open slots for suburban students, despite the fact that our enrollment requests for next fall are double our capacity.

Now here is a school where we bus students from across the city. We bus them from the suburban areas.

As you take a look at it, you have got a good racial mix, and we opened a daytime adult high school with nearly 1,500 students in it across the city.

Here you get also a citywide mix.

We moved downtown, which may be as close to neutral territory as you will find in a city. I guess it is no man's territory, because it is every man's territory. A large new school where we take care of the kinds of programs and vocations that we could not do in the neighborhoods: here is where we have our dental clinics, here is where we have our training of dental technicians.

Here is where we have a school of practical nursing—the largest one in the State of Ohio. Dental technology, medical technology, and so on.

These are the kinds of programs that cannot be replicated in the neighborhood schools, but are located in a central area.

The same thing is true of another school that is almost downtown mix as a vocational school which was pretty much a west side school when I came into Cleveland a few years ago, but now is citywide. We bus from across the city into that program, and we put in that vocational school the kinds of vocational programs that should not be replicated.

Here is where we have such programs as the big, heavy diesel repair program where nearly $1 million worth of equipment is there alone. Here is where we teach computer repair. We shouldn't have computer repair programs in every school. We only need one of them in the city.

The kind of programs that you do not replicate are placed in the central kinds of facilities, and then you draw your students from across the city, as well as from the suburban areas.

Apprenticeship training programs, which one time were totally segregated in our city, now is an integrated program with about 18 percent of the students being from minority groups.

And then, of course, there are schools for the handicapped where we have recently built a new school for the deaf which is a very beautiful fine school, and we have built it for twice as many deaf children as we will probably ever have in the city of Cleveland, so we can go out and contract with 15 suburban school districts. But it is within the city. It is in a complex. It is on a campus where very nearby we

have the school for the blind, which also takes care of the metropolitan area and a school for orthopedics care of the metropolitan area.

I think these kinds of things do bring students together, and without much effort you get quite a degree of integration.

Now, this next chart shows a supplement to these buildings, which I would hope the bill that we are talking about would allow accommodation, and that is magnet programs, not magnet schools, but magnet programs. The new supplementary education programs. And, Mr. Perkins, my first visit to this committee, many years ago when you were still a very young Congressman and about as energetic then as now, we came in here and it was title III, the idea that got into the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the first project under title III was a supplementary center in Cleveland.

We were just moving into a new $6 million center downtown. We will be accommodating 1,200 children per day.

Sure, we bus them in to that center, and then bus them back to their neighborhood school. They stay a day at a time, and we do the things there that cannot be done in any neighborhood school.

Here is where we have a big space theater with one projector that has 10,000 lenses where we can take students on an imaginary trip to the moon and actually show the change in the stars and the planets and so on as they move to the moon and simulate the landing on the moon, and it would appear as if they were actually landing there. You cannot do that in your friendly, neighborhood school.

In this center, 1,200 students a day, we do the kinds of things that cannot be done in neighborhood schools and we also, to get a good mix, we accommodate the parochial students of our town, but they must go in with our public school students, and we also accommodate some of the suburban school students.

And then a large 57-acre horticulture center in the middle of the town that serves as horticultural training for the entire city; we took over a big factory. The Woodland Job Center now has about 1,000 students in there, a factory we got from General Electric Co. where we have another kind of vocational job training program, the Manpower Training Center, the diagnostic reading center that serves the entire metropolitan area.

These are magnet programs that students go to, and then move back. Magnet schools are schools that they go to, and then stay.

Then there are programs where we move students out of the neighborhood school into integrated situations, a school supervised job training program where we take the students out of their high schools and put them on programs in an integrated situation. We have approximately 4,000 students now per day that are taken out for one-half day into supervised programs that are integrated, but where we are using the community as a laboratory rather than a school, the kind of mixing that is awfully important.

Now, what I am worried about in this country, and I am going to show a series of charts here that show that a trend that has to some way be stopped. Housing has contributed to it so badly that we are creating a problem that we are asking the schools to solve that is almost impossible.

We are now developing school systems in this country in the cities, and I am using not my data, but data from Irving Anchor who is the

chancellor of the New York City school system, a research project that was reported on about 2 months ago. A look at the cities in this country, some of the big cities and what is happening.

The first city here is Baltimore that in 1955 had 45 percent minority children in it, 54 percent white children and you see now we have moved over so that the minority children represent 71 percent and the white pupils 29 percent.

No matter what is done there, this matter of just getting a numerical mix from a standpoint of a racial mix becomes almost impossible to do.

DETROIT

In 1955, 29 percent of the students were minority and 71 percent were white. Now, Detroit ended a few weeks ago with approximately 80 percent of the students in the city of Detroit minority in the public school system and only 20 percent are white.

When we go to the next chart—and I will not bore you with too many, but I will hit some of the major cities—Chicago started out in 1955 with 32 percent minority students and 68 percent white, and now, 72 percent minority and 28 percent white.

New York City has gone from 28 percent minority to 68 percent, and the white has been reduced from 72 percent to 32 percent.

When you take a look at Philadelphia, it has moved from 1955 to 38 percent minority students up to 67 percent and 62 percent white down to 33 percent.

Los Angeles has moved from 24 percent in 1955 up to 60 percent today.

Now, in the city of Cleveland, we have a different story, which is interesting. During this same period of time, we have been going the direction of attempting really to improve the quality of education, and we have not improved it as much as we should, or we want to. We have put $226 million into the schools in the city of Cleveland. We put them every place in the city.

We have gone the direction of magnet programs and magnet schools. We have a larger percent of our students in magnet programs than any other major city I know of, but when we go back to 1968, for example—and by the way, this line across here [indicating] represents the white students in our city from 1968 to 1975. You see, it has been almost constant.

The heavy line here represents the black enrollment in the Cleveland school systems since 1968. You see, it is parallel, and the other jotted line represents the black enrollment plus other minorities in the city of Cleveland.

When it comes to the black enrollment in the city of Cleveland, we have gone from 56.48 percent in 1968 to 57.51 percent in 1975.

Now this is quite in contrast to the period between 1950 and 1965. During that period in the city of Cleveland, we lost a total metropolitanwide—not metropolitan, citywide population, it went down 100,000 and during that same time the school population increased 50,000.

The white flight in Cleveland was great at that time. It appeared if we followed what demographers would say, and the older I get, the more questions I have about demography as an exact science, I think

it is extrapolation, really—but if you had taken when the demographers were saying, today, the Cleveland School System would have been entirely black, with no white students.

We have been able to avoid this. I think our efforts at quality education—what this Congress has done to help us—has been great. The kind of help we have had from people like Congressman Bannock and Lou Stokes consistently and persistently assisting us has helped, but we have tried to put our money into quality education and, wherever we could, find new ways and different ways of accommodating a new kind of relationship between students. We have tried to do that.

I am convinced that there are things that can be done, and that this bill will assist us.

By the way, just as an aside, this chart gives us an interesting thing. Here, in this first line shows the difference between 1964 and 1975 in the percent of teachers that are minority. We have gone from 35 percent minority to 43 percent of our staff is minority.

When we come over to principals—in other words, the management side of the school system—we have gone from 12 percent of the elementary principals now to 50 percent of the elementary principals are minority in the city of Cleveland.

And I think we have 20-some odd schools that are predominantly all white that have black principals in them—28 percent of the almost predominantly white schools are on the west side of Cleveland—28 percent of the faculties are black.

I have not had one bad letter, not one demonstration, not one bad telephone call about our efforts to integrate staff, both the teachers as well as administration.

As secondary principals go, we have gone from 11 percent minority up to 41 percent.

Assistant principals, elementary from 39 percent to 61 percent—and always look at the assistant principals, because that tells you where you are going tomorrow in your program.

Secondary schools have gone from 19 percent minority assistant principals to 54 percent.

Directors and supervisors, those who, city wide, work in the field of education, from 9 percent to 38 percent.

Assistant superintendents from 0 to 40 percent.

These are doables and these are things that I think say to the community that we have a commitment to see to it that wherever possible, boys and girls across our city, both black and white, are going to learn that there are people of different races, and that they will have intimate and continuing relationships with them.

Housing makes it so difficult to do this kind of thing with student reassignment. I am convinced that we have to look in the direction of finding new kinds of solutions, even though they are small. The magnet school approach is one.

Anybody that would say that its major effort should be integration and it will be about integration, total integration, would have to be dreaming. It will not. But the magnet school itself can be integrated, and it can bring a new dimension of integration, and it can move us in that direction.

If we really believe in integration, we have to take a very careful look at what we have been doing, because we are moving as a society

into a segregated situation as far as our big cities are concerned. Our big cities are less integrated now than they were 5 years ago or 10 years ago, without exception, and we are moving very rapidly in establishing cities that are really places where we concentrate the minorities and the poor.

If we want to save our cities, we have to find ways of making it better. One way this Congress can follow an example that it has had in the past when you have seen national problems you have, in the past, given us a carrot, which is money. When we had problems of hungry children, it was this committee that came up with the national food program. By the way, Mr. Perkins, we feed 90,000 students meals every day, and of the 90,000, 70,000 are free, because they are welfare children.

Chairman PERKINS. Are you talking about the summer feeding program or are you talking about every day?

Dr. BRIGGS. Every day.

Chairman PERKINS. The regular program during the school year.

Dr. BRIGGS. This is right.

Chairman PERKINS. 70,000 of your 90,000 are free.

Dr. BRIGGS. Of the 400 biggest food servers in the United States, we happen to be 205th, something like that, bigger than many of the big chains—40,000 children in the morning get breakfast free in the Cleveland schools. We would rather put our money in free breakfasts for schools rather than truant officers going out on the streets trying to find children to bring them in.

This committee has been most helpful.

I think that we have to look for new approaches. When we had trouble with manpower in this country and did not have the manpower necessary, Congress used money as a carrot to get us to develop manpower programs.

When we had difficulty because we did not have sufficient scientists in the middle fifties, you passed legislation that made it advantageous to us to train science teachers. You gave us matching money on science equipment. You gave us matching money for books if they related to science, and you know what we did. We went out and we built new labs, we encouraged science teaching, the colleges teamed up with us with money you made available and we brought teachers in on summer institutes and made science teachers out of them, and then we produced more scientists, almost, than the Nation knew what to do with.

So we pushed this Nation way ahead in science.

We did the same many years ago in agriculture.

I see in this legislation that is before us today another opportunity, instead of being punitive, saying you must do this or something is going to happen, I see here the opportunity of saying to the cities, if you will build, construct, design programs, magnet programs that will be open to all, across the city and into the metropolitan area, we will make money available to you.

I think it will be a step in the right direction. It has nothing to do with busing. It has nothing to do with the court decisions.

It has a lot to do, however, in the areas of heavy concentration of population of bringing a new dimension of excellence to education that the suburbs cannot have. The schools are going to have to help our cities find ways to excellence and to improvement, and I think

that I have to have a friendly feeling toward this bill, because what your are proposing here is what our community has, and our board of education, has endorsed and raised taxes to do for a long time, and I think these charts indicate that it is working.

I certainly appreciate this opportunity of adding my support. I would not support just isolated good schools. That is not magnet schools. A magnet school has got to be so powerful that it draws students because it has something to offer, and what it has to offer cannot and should not be easily replicable.

If it is, let's replicate it everyplace.

Chairman PERKINS. Mrs. Chisholm?

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to say this publicly, because I have had an opportunity to come into the city of Cleveland on many occasions, different kinds of speaking engagements in the suburbs, within the city itself, and because I am an educator by profession, I have always taken an interest in school systems.

I must say, in all of my travels all over this country, without knowing all of the details of your particular school system, one of the things that has fascinated me is to see the integrated efforts of your entire school system in the suburbs as well as the inner city area.

It is very interesting when you say here today and you show the charts that indicated from about 1955 or 1964 all the way up to 1975 that Cleveland remained relatively stable, whereas in Baltimore and Detroit and New York City and Los Angeles the minority population in our inner city schools has increased from maybe 25 or 35 percent to 75 or 80 percent, so that you now have an entirely resegregated school system; within the city itself, you are not able to have the mix that we would desire if we had the kind of housing situation that would bring this mix about.

Would you say then that the magnet schools, or the magnet programs, are one sort of instrument or mechanism that can be utilized to help minimize this kind of racist feeling that we get when we talk about the educational situation, if the nature of the curriculum is such that it prepares young people for the real world of work, and to the extent that the superintendent has the vision supplemented by the moneys to put in the kinds of programs that are necessary, one would find that black, Hispanic and white students will be integrated in the situation, not because of any force, necessarily, but because of the program offerings that will cause the school to become a real integrated center of quality education?

Would you say that?

Dr. BRIGGS. That is exactly our aim, and that has been our experience when we have brought real quality to programs.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Second, as I listened to you and I took note of your charts, it would seem to me that the head of the school system: namely, the school superintendent, would have to be—and I am not trying to embarrass you—but would have to be a superintendent with vision, real commitment, courage, concern, and understanding to get his personnel, some of whom may have negative attitudes, to realize that this is the goal.

Therefore, what I am saying, is it requires real leadership to help minimize some of the tensions that one finds in these areas.

Would you say that?

Dr. BRIGGS. Mrs. Chisholm, courage, vision, and a commitment that this leadership is going to succeed.

Also, I have been fortunate, in Cleveland we have had a great team leadership with a great president of the Cleveland Board of Education, Mr. Arnold Pinckney who is one of our great citizens, and we have been able to put together the kind of solid approach that is going to succeed.

Also, I think I have been fortunate having been superintendent. I started my 13th year this week. No other major city has had that occur.

We have had such a changing, so many changes in leadership in most of the cities that you saw these charts on that consistent leadership has been lacking in many cases, but I think it is important.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. One last question.

Because of the growth of minority populations in the inner-city areas, you would then, therefore, feel that there must be other remedies besides the transportation remedy?

Dr. BRIGGS. Yes. Housing is No. 1, and it has been woefully neglected. Mrs. Chisholm, I think you would be interested to note, you know that we have to keep a census monthly, so we see movements of patterns long before the U.S. Census reports it every 10 years and then gets around 3 years later to give us a report.

I think that this matter of economic improvement of the people of the inner city is so important. You cannot leave unless you have economic power.

It is interesting that for 5 years now we have had a larger movement out of Cleveland from the inner city than we have had from the other areas of our city.

I would like to think that much of this credit can go to not only the vocational education, the strengthening of vocational education, and getting our youngsters on jobs, our graduates from the inner-city schools, in a 5-year period, those wanting jobs, we make a—not only an inventory, but we have a list of them by names, and then we have a placement program with paid people dealing with nearly 400 industries. We have averaged a 92-percent placement of our inner-city students, our graduates, who are prepared and want jobs.

I would like to think that has given a new kind of economic power that has allowed, 2 or 3 years later, individuals to have the choice of housing, which they had not previously had.

Economic power is awfully important as well as some real reform in housing.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. One final question. I am grappling, and trying to learn a lot of things.

The question of resegregation which is going on and is a fact of life. We see that cities maybe 10, 11 years ago did not have minority populations in their school systems, yet through court orders and other devices, your school population changed and now we see today that in many of these large cities there is a resegregation because of the white flight, et cetera, et cetera.

What are your attitudes or your thoughts on this whole resegregation issue, which is a fact of life we have to deal with, given the nature of the circumstances in this country.

Dr. BRIGGS. This is right.

I think that the—I did not want to get into the court-ordered side, but one of the weaknesses in the court decisions have been that they have not been able, with all of the authority of the U.S. district courts and the power of the Constitution and the Supreme Court behind them, they have never yet closed two escape hatches, and without closing them, you are not going to get the kind of racial mix that has been the thrust.

One is that movement to suburbia, and except for about three or four examples in this country, the court order stops at the city limits of the city. That is where we have that great big wall, a high wall, really separating more than race, it is separating poverty from wealth.

In our city, we say we can measure the wealth of a citizen by the distance he lives from Terminal Tower. Probably 80 percent of all welfare children live within 4 miles of Terminal Tower. But when you live 20 miles out—and by the way, 200,000 commute in every day—the ones that get there last and leave first have the better jobs, and are our wealthiest.

We have not closed that kind of escape.

The other is private and parochial schools. When I look at what is happening in some of the cities—I am thinking of one that I looked at recently, a large city in this country that in the last 18 months had opened 94 private schools, private schools that are all white. And when I look at a court decision in our State last week that said starting now, private schools in the State of Ohio will not need to meet State standards of education, totally removed are the faculties, curriculum and all other standards. That lays the groundwork for developing escape hatches and so on.

We have not done a thorough job, and what has happened, we developed a real—well, we have developed, as you say, a resegregation, and I think we have got to use every avenue possible to affirmatively bring young people together from different backgrounds—not just different races; that is part of it—and in the schools with magnet programs that are so strong and so affirmative and so fine that people want to get into them, that is just one. It is part of it.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Forgive me if my questions might be just a little redundant, because the gentlelady from New York did cover some of the ground in which I have particular interest, but I am very impressed by your charts in that you apparently have virtually ended white flight from Cleveland. Now, I do not know what may have had—well, let me go behind the statistics and find out—now, what about your total school population. You indicated a rather stable percentage ethnically. What about school population. Has it gone up or down?

Dr. BRIGGS. It has moved from 1950 to 1965, it moved up from about 100,000 to 152,000. 1965, it started moving down, and it is now at approximately 120,000.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Have there been any significant changes, percentagewise, in the overall population?

Dr. BRIGGS. The overall population in the city of Cleveland is remaining pretty stable. The school percentages pretty much represent the city percentages as far as stability is concerned.

However, you must remember that the minority representation in our school would be heavier than the minority representation in the community, primarily for economic reasons, as well as religious reasons.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, you have indicated some emphasis on vocational education. It would appear to me that you have made maximum use of the available resources, I assume Federal as well as otherwise.

Has your magnet school program been going on for some time, for some years, as well?

Dr. BRIGGS. Approximately 10 years. We have been involved in this for a little better than 10 years.

Mr. BUCHANAN. OK. You mentioned vocational education, the magnet program, you also mentioned job opportunities, are there any other factors to which you would attribute this apparent stability of population?

Dr. BRIGGS. I think the vocational has a great deal to do with it; 50 percent of our 7,000 graduates a few weeks ago were qualified for jobs. They were certified, they had gone through solid programs, vocational programs that you are familiar with. Not just orientation to them, I mean trained for them, that we could put a stamp on the i and say that these students can do this, that and the other thing.

Those are the ones that we are talking about, a 92-percent placement That has made a big difference.

We have attempted to do away with general education. By that, I mean where you water down the curriculum for the student who is not going to go to college and he comes out not prepared for anything.

We have tried to look at our high schools as if they have two exit doors: one to a job, or the other to college, or a combination, but that when you come out of that high school door, you ought to be prepared to make a living or to go on to college, or to do both.

Now, where we have gone to the magnet training programs, vocational programs, they are concentrated on the kinds of programs that you cannot have in each of your comprehensive high schools. The new Aviation High School that is at the airport downtown, a new $4 million high school, you certainly cannot have that kind of a program in every one of your neighborhood high schools, so if you want the aviation sciences—and by the way, I am not talking about flying. I am talking about the mechanics, the air frame work, also air traffic management.

We have our own tower that matches the city tower and so on. If something happens to the city tower, in bringing in traffic and taking it out, within about 15 or 20 minutes the airport management can move into our facility and operate the airport.

We are talking about these kinds of quality programs that are centralized, and have to be in a central location. Those are in addition to the vocational programs that are easily replicable, typing, shorthand, welding, auto mechanics and so on, in the neighborhood high schools.

We have three such citywide high schools that serve, not only the entire area, but then we keep some slots open for some of the suburban districts.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, your school system is only the city of Cleveland. Does it include any suburban area?

Dr. BRIGGS. Just the suburban area.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Could you tell me about concentrations of population as to housing?

Are there concentrations of populations ethnically within the city of Cleveland?

Dr. BRIGGS. We probably have the greatest concentrations you will find almost in any city in America. We have more Slavinians in Cleveland than in any city in Europe. We have the largest concentration of Ukranians in America are in Cleveland. They come directly to Cleveland. They do not come by way of New York for an orientation, they come right to Cleveland.

We have a larger Czechoslovakian group. We have a large Italian group. We have nothing like Boston in Irish, but we do have some Irish and German and so on.

We are heavy in Eastern European cultures.

Now, the individals from these various ethnic groups have clustered around various community—identifiable community—areas. This is why we did not go the direction of neighborhood control because if we had up in Cleveland—I opposed it—because if we had it, we would have had a Czechoslovakian community with Czechoslovakian schools, a Ukranian one, a black, and so on.

We went heavier in the direction of family and parental input that we listened to, but if we were going to get a movement, if we were going to get communication, we were going to have a greater freedom.

Now, Cleveland is a peculiar city from the standpoint of geography. If I could go back and advise Moses Cleveland, I would tell him not to land where he did. He landed up the river which separates the city, which makes it very difficult. Ours is a city of bridges. We have over 100 bridges trying to get across town.

In that big flat area where the river flows down through our city, we have the steel mills. We have a couple of miles of territory on each side. No one lives in that territory. Here are the big, heavy steel mills.

On the east side, because of housing patterns, this is where nearly all of the black population went. On the west side, the white population. To the south and the east, heavy ethnic populations.

And as the east side, as the northeastern side of our city, which was, at one time, almost entirely Jewish, the Glenville area, as a new suburb was developed, Shaker Heights and Cleveland Heights and Beechwood and the Jewish population moved out, here is where the new black population moved in. The movement of the black population into Cleveland was dictated almost entirely by housing.

So now we have a great separation.

So the kinds of things that normally one would do to get a racial mix in this school will not work because we have miles of separation. I think this is why I advocated strongly 12 years ago some experimentation in magnet programs that would be isolated to citywide kinds of approaches, and here we have in those schools now a nice racial mix, and these are not the schools we have violence in. These are not the schools we have our real racial problem and demonstrations.

I think the reason is that the students, both black and white, want to get there. There is a program there that is different from anything else. There is a motivation there that is great.

The dropout rate is the lowest in those schools. The employment rate out of them is the highest. We are talking about quality.

And now, my feeling is that our next step ought to be moving into more centers for integrated but quality and unique magnet programs.

For example, you will find it in the report, 20 percent of the people in the world speak Chinese. I am told that in the schools in China they are learning to speak English. It is almost impossible to give a quality course in Chinese in any of our high schools, suburban or city, but I am pretty well convinced that some students ought to be getting it.

The languages of the Saudi Arabian countries, not everybody should be taking it, but somebody is going to be talking to the Saudi Arabians for a long time. These—there are certain unique kinds of things that should be done that we cannot do in every school. We are talking now about a center in modern languages that would be close to a State university which is also new, and downtown, where we would have joint appointments between the modern language staff of the State university and the school system, where we would transport in, if you will, bus in, students who want that kind of a program, a program of the greatest quality.

We have talked with the language people about it. Not using the traditional approach of coming in and staying, you know, where you teach language one period a day for 5 days a week, but bringing them from the entire metropolitan area.

Now, when you get that, you will get pretty much the kind of racial mix that the metropolitan area has.

We could stay here all day talking about these kinds of magnet programs. Now, those are not magnet schools, but I read into this legislation the possibility of the kinds of guidelines that would accommodate these.

One other example. I would like to emerse junior high school students in science at a new kind of a center, deeply and for 24 hours a day for 1 week at a time, take them out of their schools.

We have plans for this kind of thing with a hundred acres, not in the city of Cleveland, but outside of the city of Cleveland.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me ask you along that line, Dr. Briggs, have you had any experience in Cleveland with educational parks, under the supplemental educational program?

Dr. BRIGGS. We do have.

Chairman PERKINS. What has that experience been?

Dr. BRIGGS. It has been excellent. We have one that deals with programs in the humanities and the sciences in space development, in art and in music, and we transport, we have been averaging 500 students a day for 10 years, we are stepping it up this fall to 1,200, and during that period of time, as far as opposition from the cities is concerned, I have had two letters opposing it.

It is well-accepted, because it is exciting, it is——

Chairman PERKINS. Assuming that legislation of this type was to become law, would you envision the educational parks, additional educational parks, in your city?

Dr. BRIGGS. In the concept of our program development, yes, but not developing an educational park where you just do exactly what you normally would do in the regular, routine school.

Chairman PERKINS. You mean a regular routine school?

Dr. BRIGGS. This would be a higher quality, much more exciting, and unique kinds of things.

Chairman PERKINS. Any further questions?

Let me say to you that you have made the usual witness that you always make. You have made your point very clear. We appreciate your being here today. We know the type of school system which you operate in Cleveland which is outstanding, and at this time, because of the legislation on the floor, the committee will adjourn.

Thank you all.

[Whereupon, at 11:05 a.m., the subcommittee adjourned.]

[Material submitted for inclusion in the record follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM H. EXUM, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, WILLIAMS COLLEGE, WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

Thank you for the opportunity to express my views as a professional sociologist on the vital issue of school desegregation, an issue addressed in a positive way by bills now before Congress: H.R. 14365 and S. 3319.

As is abundantly clear to all of us, while much has been achieved in the years since the Supreme Court's landmark 1954 decision, school desegregation and the creation of fully unitary school systems is far from being achieved for the majority of black and other minority children. Indeed, in many places racial imbalance and segregation are worse now than six years ago, particularly in the Northeast and the Midwest. Even in the South and Border States, where efforts against racial segregation have been most intense, and where real decline in segregation has occurred, the majority of black children are still attending essentially segregated schools. And, in every region, the problem is most severe in urban areas.

The reasons for this persisting inequality are readily apparent. Resistance by individuals as well as by organized groups; racial fears, and fear of change; failures of nerve, or will, and of leadership; vested interests in the status quo—all have been critical in pertpetuating the problem of segregation. Further, all too often, desegregation efforts have been hampered by unresolved (and perhaps unresolvable) argument over desired pedagogical outcomes of desegregation, as well as by emotional, frequently acrimonious fights over a particular tool for achieving desegregation, most especially busing.

What has too often been forgotten is that desegregation is a national imperative, not just an attempt to satisfy a particular group, or as part of some kind of great educational experiment. Desegregation is imperative because it is Constitutionally (and morally) required, and should be measured and judged in these terms above all. With this Constitutional imperative as the starting point, all approaches to achieving desegregation should and must be utilized, including transportation. As has often been said, the clock cannot be turned back. This is not to say, of course, that questions of educational quality should be neglected. Quite the contrary, especially since educational quality has been a constant concern of parents, school personnel as well as the courts in all discussion and evaluation of school desegregation.

The fact that they attempt to address the question of educational quality, without attempting to undermine, compromise or limit the Constitutional imperative for desegregation, or to restrict the use of any and all necessary tools (including transportation) to achieve this goal, is one of the reasons H.R. 14365 and S. 3319 are desirable legislation.

Where desegregation efforts have succeeded, several factors seem most frequently to have been present, two of which are especially significant. One of these is the role of the Federal government. Whether this has involved HEW, the Department of Justice, the Federal Courts, executive leadership—or some combination of all of these—the Federal government, necessarily and inevitably, has been an indispensable party to desegregation. Among other things, this reemphasizes the leadership role of Federal agencies and officials, including Congress.

In many instances, again necessarily and inevitably, the Federal role has been most frequently coercive. The attraction of the bills you are now considering is that they involve the Federal government in desegregation efforts in a creative and supportive way that goes beyond what has been done so far.

The second element commonly found in successful desegregation plans, particularly in urban areas, is the use of a variety of means (pairing schools, skip

zoning, changing feeder patterns, opening magnet schools, busing, etc.) in combination. These plans seem to succeed because of this variety and combination, particularly where they also emphasize improving educational quality, expanding alternative educational experiences and opportunities for all students. However, such plans are also highly complex, require skilled leadership and effective planning, and perhaps most critically, tend to strain the financial resources of the school systems involved.

A central feature of this legislation (H.R. 14365 and S. 3319) is that is encourages school systems to employ a wide variety of methods to achieving school desegregation, and to be concerned with educational quality in ways which do not compromise the basic Constitutional imperative.

The approach to desegregation supported by this legislation that I want to stress here is the construction and/or operation of what have been termed magnet schools. Such schools have several positive features which should be noted.

First, as several observers have argued, magnet schools may aid school desegregation by providing an innovative, high quality or specialized education so attractive to parents and children of all groups that they will voluntarily attend the magnet school. Thus, the appeal of magnet schools may help produce voluntary racial mixing in at least some schools.

Of course, there is no guarantee that magnet schools will succeed in this regard in any given particular situation. And certainly magnet schools alone will not in and by themselves achieve desegregation or solve all desegregation problems, particularly in cities where school systems are already predominantly minority in the make-up of pupils.

However, the experience of several cities (Boston, Houston, Cleveland, Dallas, Chicago, Minneapolis and Tulsa, to name only a few) demonstrates that magnet schools can be an important factor in achieving desegregation when: (1) carefully developed; (2) implemented with appropriate constraints, safeguards and community contact; and (3) used in conjunction with a variety of other means for desegregating schools, including busing.

Second, magnet schools can help enrich and broaden the educational options and experiences available to students and their parents, a particularly important value in urban and inner-city school systems. In addition, good magnet schools serve to allay the fears of white parents about the quality and pupil safety in desegregated schools, while meeting the desires of black parents for quality education and expanded social mobility opportunities for their children. As a result, it seems possible that successful magnet schools can help to keep the white (and black) middle-class in the city and their children in the public school system, while broadening the educational alternatives for all.

Third, where they are successful (in terms of providing a quality education to a racially mixed student body), magnet schools can make a contribution to racial peace and the creation of a stable modus vivendi based on shared experience and aspirations between children and between parents of the different racial groups involved. The experience of the Trotter School and English High in Boston is instructive in this regard. Of course, since magnet schools are only one part of any school system, they can affect only a limited number of people in this way. Nonetheless, any gain for racial peace, however, small, in our troubled cities is to be encouraged.

Fourth, it is possible that in some circumstances magnet schools, by increasing the opportunities for voluntary integration, can help to reduce the amount of busing necessary to achieve desegregation, and thus perhaps reduce at least a part of the controversy which often attends desegregation efforts. However, it should be stressed that magnet schools are in no way a substitute for transportation of any other means available and mandated to achieve desegregation. This is the fundamental reality which must not be forgotten.

In short, magnet schools have demonstrated the possibility of combining the goals of integrated education and equal opportunity with the goals of effective, high quality schools in a creative way to the benefit of the children of all groups. That is why this legislation before you is worthy of support and should be adopted.

At the same time, we must recognize that magnet schools are difficult to implement and do have certain potential drawbacks. For one thing, the development of quality magnet schools requires skilled, dedicated leadership from both educational and political leaders, sound planning, effective community contact and involvement. Even more critically, such schools are often quite costly to initiate

and to maintain, requiring economic resources which are not easily acquired. Because it provides much-needed financial support to these schools, the legislation before you is of great importance.

Without adequate planning and safeguards, magnet schools can be costly in other ways as well. Creating such schools may work to disadvantage other schools in the system if in the process the best students, the best teachers and administrators, and resources are drained away to the magnet school. Magnet schools may even become counterproductive to over-all desegregation in a school system if they become a haven for whites fleeing other public schools to which they might be assigned, especially those located in black neighborhoods.

Such possibilities are further reasons why this legislation, which provides support for magnet schools and other approaches, is so critical. Such possibilities are also why magnet schools must not be seen as a panacea or as a sufficient response to either the issue of school desegregation or to that of quality education.

Finally, I would like to reiterate a point made earlier: magnet schools have worked in several places as part of desegregation efforts, but even with the best planning and leadership, they may not work in all circumstances to achieve integration. Hence, I support the legislation before you because it provides aid not only to magnet schools but to a variety of other educationally innovative desegregation techniques as well.

JEFFERSON COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Louisville, Ky., August 2, 1976.

Hon. CARL PERKINS,
Chairman, Education and Labor Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CARL: I am writing in support of H.R. 14700, a bill to amend the Emergency School Aid Act to provide funds to support alternatives to busing.

A school system as large as the Jefferson County Schools needs to offer many choices to the residents of the school district to minimize the forced aspect of desegregation. This bill, if passed and funds appropriated, would permit us to seek and implement new and proven alternatives. This law could help our school district regain community support by offering choices. It would enable us to regain public confidence and become self-supporting again.

The additional costs of planning and beginning new projects of the type this bill would support are prohibitive when the school district is under a desegregation order and community support is lacking. These projects would be a special asset to the total school program.

I urge your support and assistance in passing the bill.

Sincerely,

E. C. GRAYSON, *Superintendent.*

ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT,
Washington, D.C., August 4, 1976.

Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I am writing you regarding the resolutions from the final Business Session of the National Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development Annual Conference in Miami Beach of this year. You will note from the enclosed News Exchange, May 1976, that our association passed fourteen resolutions at its 1976 annual conference. I know several of these resolutions will be of interest to you as they are to our 20,000 members and I have been instructed to inform you regarding several of the specific resolutions.

Historically, the philosophy of ASCD has been to support education as a broad approach to the knowledge, attitudes and skills desirable for students at the exit from high school and in opposition to a narrow definition of minimum requirements. We endorse educational programs which develop students' potentials to the optimum in literary and communications skills, civic responsibility, aesthetic awareness, physical fitness, moral decision making, and other skills necessary for one to function as an effective citizen.

In keeping with that philosophy, ASCD supports the expansion of multilingual/multicultural education and urges federal funding of such expansions. Similarly, ASCD supports busing to achieve equal, quality integrated education. Our imme-

diate past president, as well as our Executive Director stand ready to testify in this matter before appropriate Congressional committees. (See enclosed Della-Dora busing statement and cover letter.) Furthermore, in this context, ASCD opposes and abhors the tactics of the KKK, ROAR, and the American Nazi Party against busing and equal quality integrated education and urges strong congressional steps to curb unlawful or unconstitutional activities in which they are alleged to have engaged. Additionally, ASCD recognizes the importance of offering to students, parents, and educators options in school settings based on different philosophical positions and encourages those options which support integration.

ASCD believes that the education of children and youth is among the nation's highest priorities. Current efforts to curtail vital programs and to shorten the school day or year may be contrary to this priority. Wholesale use of norm-referenced standardized tests for assessment of quality of education is based on fallacious assumptions. While it is essential that students achieve a level of skill which would enable them to function as productive citizens, it is extremely difficult to determine the appropriate criteria for measurement of the attainment of these determined skills. We support the goal of basic competencies required for life functions, but we seek improvements in instruction and assessment which are designed to bring about the broad scope of skills which will insure a total education to all children.

I will appreciate any response you may offer to these positions and will share your response with our membership through our many publications. Finally, since virtually all of the experts in curriculum development, supervision, and instructional improvement are found within the ranks of ASCD, I freely offer to arrange for expert testimony from our ranks for any federal activity which may support the positions described. While these are general comments of concern, we stand ready to make specific recommendations in relation to each of these matters to the appropriate bodies of government.

Very truly yours,

PHIL HOSFORD, *President.*

Enclosures, 2.

STANDARDIZED TESTING EXCESSES, INTEGRATION DELAYS SCORED AT ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The 200 members present at the ASCD Annual Business Meeting in Miami Beach March 16 voted in resolutions urging a moratorium on standardized testing, encouraging "options which support integration" which "may include transportation of students as a means of eliminating racial and economic isolation," and reiterating their earlier positions on multilingual/multicultural education and on the treatment of minorities in instructional materials. They had hard words for "the disruptive tactics of the KKK, the American Nazi Party and ROAR in their campaigns against busing and equal quality integrated education."

The full text of those resolutions which passed is below.

A resolution urging the federal government to accept "full responsibility" for financing equal, quality, integrated education for every child in the U.S. at the expense of the military budget was defeated.

An attempt to censure the Conference Planning Committee and the Board of Directors for the inclusion of the session "Special Feature for Spouses—Total Woman" in the conference program was voted down. Those attempting the censure viewed the presentation as sexist and therefore contradictory to the Association's proclaimed intentions. Executive Director Gordon Cawelti took the responsibility for the invitation to the session's presenter, author Marabelle Morgan, defending the decision as "simply an effort to use a local (Miami) person with a provocative point of view on womanhood. I regret that it offended some but will defend our need to provide a platform for divergent views as a means of assuring a fuller understanding of significant issues."

As is usual at this meeting, which occurs toward the end of the Annual Conference, those present did not constitute a quorum (5 percent of the present membership, or 900, according to the Association By-laws). Consequently, for formal ratification the accepted resolutions were passed on to the Board of Directors where the Board voted to "adopt those resolutions which were accepted and reject those which were rejected" by those present at the Business Meeting.

MAINSTREAMING

ASCD has long recognized human variability and the necessity for providing appropriate educational opportunities for all students. Efforts to provide for these differences have often resulted in overused labels and categories. The current trend to reduce undesirable labels has resulted in much attention to "mainstreaming"—a term which has many different interpretations.

ASCD's position of mainstreaming is consistent with the definition provided by the Council for Exceptional Children.

Mainstreaming is:

1. Providing the most appropriate education for each child in the least restrictive setting.
2. Looking at the educational needs of children instead of clinical or diagnostic labels such as mentally handicapped, learning disabled, physically handicapped, hearing impaired, or gifted.
3. Looking for and creating alternatives that will help general educators serve children with learning or adjustment problems in the regular setting. Some approaches being used to help achieve this are consulting teachers, methods and materials specialists, itinerant teachers and resource room teachers.
4. Uniting the skills of general education and special education so that all children may have equal educational opportunity.

Mainstreaming is not:

1. Returning wholesale, all exceptional children in special classes to regular classes.
2. Permitting children with special needs to remain in regular classrooms without the support services that they need.
3. Ignoring the need of some children for a more specialized program than can be provided in the general education program.
4. Providing less financial funding than is necessary to serve children in special self-contained classrooms.

THE BICENTENNIAL

As part of the Bicentennial observance, many schools and communities have had, are now having, or will have special activities and projects designed to focus attention on the United States' historical, moral, and cultural heritages. These efforts are commended and should not be terminated with the ending of the Bicentennial year. ASCD believes that students, teachers, and the community in general should have knowledge of and pride in their past history.

It is recommended that the ASCD Board of Directors encourage the use of these Bicentennial programs to rekindle an awareness of and a dedication to the founding principles of this country; to stimulate a continuing regard for basic heritage and ideals to provide a framework for encouraging critical evaluation of national purpose and direction in light of those ideals and to unite the various factions of our pluralistic society.

ALTERNATIVES IN EDUCATION STUDY

For several years ASCD has demonstrated a commitment to the primacy of the individual in a democratic, pluralistic society. This commitment must be demonstrated and reaffirmed.

Much rhetoric exists about the "possible" choices that exist for students and parents. However, little is actually known about these alternatives in education in a definitive and comprehensive fashion. A comprehensive study of existing curricular offering is needed.

To this end, the John Dewey Society funded recently a team to develop the parameters of such a study. The model and the departure point for discussion for this team was the Eight Year Study. The deliberations of this team led to several conclusions, among which were:

(1) The Study is needed.

(2) Financial support is needed to plan and to conduct the total design of the study.

It is recommended that the ASCD Board of Directors take a position supporting such a study.

MOBILE TEACHERS' RETIREMENT ASSISTANCE ACT

ASCD wishes to reaffirm its 1975 resolution on the Mobile Teachers' Retirement Assistance Act.

It is recommended that this act be made retroactive.

It is further recommended that all state and regional ASCD units be requested to support the resolution, including any other means of communicating with state and federal legislators.

PRE-KINDERGARTEN EARLY ASSESSMENT

Research has shown that all children progress and develop at their own rate and in their own style. For a percentage of some children, the little understood disorder known as neurologic learning syndrome causes students to fall behind their peers in academic achievements.

The Association of Children with Learning Disabilities has noted in their research that this neurological disorder affects approximately 3% of the nation's school children. They further state that this disorder is being recognized as a major cause of school failure, emotional disturbance and even juvenile delinquence.

The representatives of this Association, experts in their respective fields as teachers, psychiatrists and psychologists, have stated that if diagnosed and treated early enough, most ideally before kindergarten, most children can be helped to overcome or compensate for their problems and avoid the educational and emotional consequence of failure.

This problem, for which reasons are still not fully known, affects about five boys for every one girl. It has been discussed under many different labels; dyslexia, minimal brain damage, organic brain injury and minimal brain dysfunction.

The Federal Congress has recently enacted Public Law 94–142 which states the necessity for funding related services for early diagnosis of learning disabilities. This law presents an opportunity for educational personnel to move forward in this direction.

ASCD is composed of people who are leaders of education in their respective institutions and communities. It should be a responsibility of this group to give support to programs that would help in the early diagnosis of these children so that the problems may be ameliorated.

It is recommended that the ASCD Board of Directors adopt a position in two areas of concern within the scope of this problem.

1. That the Federal Government fund Pre-K early assessment programs in districts which have established Pre-K early assessment as a priority.

2. That ASCD support legislation which would encourage individual states to include Pre-K early assessment as an integral part of their (mandated) educational assessment program.

DANGEROUS ORGANIZATIONS

ASCD recognizes the great danger posed by groups like the KKK, the American Nazi Party and ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights).

It is recommended that the ASCD Board of Directors instruct President Hosford to make known to the United States Congress and to the President of the United States: (1) ASCD's opposition to and abhorrence of the disruptive tactics of the KKK, the American Nazi Party and ROAR in their campaign against busing and equal quality integrated education and (2) ASCD's urgent request that the United States government take strong steps to curb the unconstitutional activities of these groups.

It is recommended further that the ASCD Board of Directors instruct the Publications Committee to report to the membership on actions taken by the Executive Council and the President, on this resolution through the *News Exchange* and through any other publications it deems appropriate.

It is recommended further that the publications of ASCD: *Educational Leadership* themes and articles and *News Exchange* discussions, and yearbook topics will be used to further inform and educate the membership about dangerous organizations.

ASCD AND THE FUTURE

In 1976 we are just recovering from the after effects of the misconception of the 1960's that our resources were virtually inexhaustible and of the myth of our omniscience in world politics.

As a result of the methodical study of the future, it has become evident that we actually are living on the threshold of an era of resource depletion, of possi-

ble famine, of increasing nuclear threats, of severe pollution, and of growing pressure from less developed countries and from minorities in the U.S. for a more equitable economic deal.

Furthermore, social indicators suggest that there is increasing dissatisfaction with many aspects of the social system developed in the industrialized world during the past century: a system that sometimes built wealth at the cost of greater poverty, alienated workers with meaningless tasks, failed to protect many members of the human community from discrimination and destitution, and neither ended unreasonable privilege nor enhanced human dignity.

It is recommended that the ASCD Board of Directors encourage its membership to develop positive images of the future that humankind should seek and that these images realistically recognize persistent social problems, the nature of the real world and its constraints, and the need for further clarification of our values.

It is recommended further that curriculum development in our schools: (1) show greater awareness of the human revolution through which the world's nations are passing; (2) recognize the choices that we have before us and the consequences of these choices for the planet; and (3) stress the skills needed by children, youth, and mature learners as they deal with accelerating change.

It is recommended further that the ASCD Board of Directors consider the formation of a working group dealing with this concern.

CURTAILMENT OF RESOURCES

ASCD believes that the education of children and youth is among the nation's highest priorities. Current efforts to curtail vital programs and to shorten the school day or year may be contrary to this priority.

It is recommended that the ASCD Board of Directors communicate to its affiliates and to its individual members the urgency of resisting all efforts to deprive schools of their proper share of resources.

RESOLUTIONS

MULTILINGUAL/MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

ASCD reaffirms its 1975 position on multilingual/multicultural legislation.

It is recommended that ASCD members commend the work of the ASCD Working Group on Multilingual/Multicultural Education and that they urge the Working Group to continue its efforts to lead the fight for expansion of multilingual/multicultural education programs in the face of cuts in allocations for education brought about by the current economic crisis.

It is recommended further that the ASCD Board of Directors instruct President Hosford to make it known to the United States Congress and to the President of the United States that ASCD supports the expansion of multilingual/multicultural education and urges the federal government to find the means to fund such expansion.

It is recommended further that the ASCD Board of Directors instruct the Publications Committee to report to the membership on actions taken by the Executive Council and the President, on this resolution through the *News Exchange* and through any other publications it deems appropriate.

It is recommended further that the publications: *Educational Leadership* themes and articles and *News Exchange* discussions and yearbook topics will be used to further inform and educate the membership about multilingual/multicultural education.

BUSING

ASCD commends outgoing President Delmo Della-Dora for his support of busing in testimony before a Congressional Committee.

ASCD wishes to inform the Executive Council and officers of their support for a continued vigorous expansion of busing programs as a necessary step toward equal, quality, integrated education and to instruct the Council and officers to seek ways to support actively such busing programs.

It is recommended that the Board of Directors of ASCD instruct incoming President Phillip Hosford to make it known to the United States Congress and to the President of the United States that ASCD supports continued vigorous expansion of busing programs as a necessary step toward equal, quality integrated education.

It is recommended further that the ASCD Board of Directors instruct the Publications Committee to report to the membership on actions taken by the Executive Council and the President, on this resolution through the *News Exchange* and through any other publications it deems appropriate.

It is recommended further that the publications of ASCD: *Educational Leadership* themes and articles and *News Exchange* discussions, and yearbook topics will be used to further inform and educate the membership about busing.

EXIT COMPETENCIES EXAMINATION

There has been movement in some states to set certain arbitrary standards for high school graduation known as "competencies" which are defined as scores on achievement tests. The philosophy of ASCD has historically been to support education as a broader approach to the knowledge, attitudes and skills desirable for students at the exit point from high school and in opposition to a narrow definition of minimum requirements.

ASCD should renew its endorsement of education which will provide adequate opportunities for the development of each student's potential to the optimum. Such education should include literary and communication skills, civic responsibility, aesthetic awareness, physical fitness, moral decision making, and other skills necessary for one to function as an effective citizen.

Because of the diverse range of capabilities of students and individual differences influencing achievement, it is difficult to require that all students achieve a standard level of competence in all areas. While it is essential that students achieve a level of skill which would enable them to function as productive citizens, it is extremely difficult to determine the appropriate criteria for measurement of the attainment of these determined skills.

It is recommended, therefore, that the ASCD Board of Directors support basic competencies required for life functions. It is recommended further the ASCD Board of Directors seek improvements through alternative approaches speaking to those practices and techniques which are designed to bring about the broad scope of skills which will insure a total education to all children.

STANDARDIZED TESTS

A norm-referenced standardized test is any test that compares performance to predetermined norms and is administered in identical form to large numbers of students. The interpretation of tests is usually based on several fallacious assumptions about education.

It is recommended that ASCD through its elected officers, its staff, publications, and programs become an advocate for a general moratorium on norm-referenced standardized testing, and further, that the report of the Executive Director given in 1977 reflect the status of this effort.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Education is, in part, a force to transform culture through building a better understanding among people. In most areas of the country, schools serve a cross section of the racial, ethnic and economic groups that make up this country. Neither token integration nor total isolation by race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status is beneficial to either majority or minority group members. ASCD believes integrated schools to be the best proposition for participation in America's pluralistic society. Educators have a moral responsibility to provide affirmative leadership to integrate students, staffs, curricula, and curricular activities.

ASCD recognizes the importance of offering to students, parents and educators options in school settings—options based on different philosophical positions. ASCD further recognizes that proposed options may foster resegregation.

For educational reasons, ASCD encourages options which support integration. These options may include transportation of students as a means of eliminating racial and economic isolation.

It is recommended that the ASCD Board of Directors communicate this position by:

1. Asking ASCD members to write to their congressmen.
2. Urging ASCD affiliates to take appropriate action at the state level.

WOMEN AND MINORITY GROUPS IN INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

Instructional materials are very important elements in the total educational environment. These materials affect profoundly the learner and learning, perceptions of self, and role performance in a pluralistic society.

It is recommended, therefore, that the ASCD Board of Directors reaffirm its 1974 position on Women and Minority Groups in Instructional Materials.

JEFFERSON COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Louisville, Ky., August 2, 1976.

Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,
Chairman, Education and Labor Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PERKINS: I would like to lend my support to H.R. 14365 to amend the Emergency School Aid Act. This bill would be a tremendous assistance to school systems such as our own Jefferson County Public Schools as we cope with acceptable means of school desegregation. The idea of magnet schools and pairing of schools and programs would be a positive alternative to court ordered busing. Your support and leadership for this amendment would be greatly appreciated.

Cordially,

JUNE KEY,
Consultant, Human Relations Department.

○